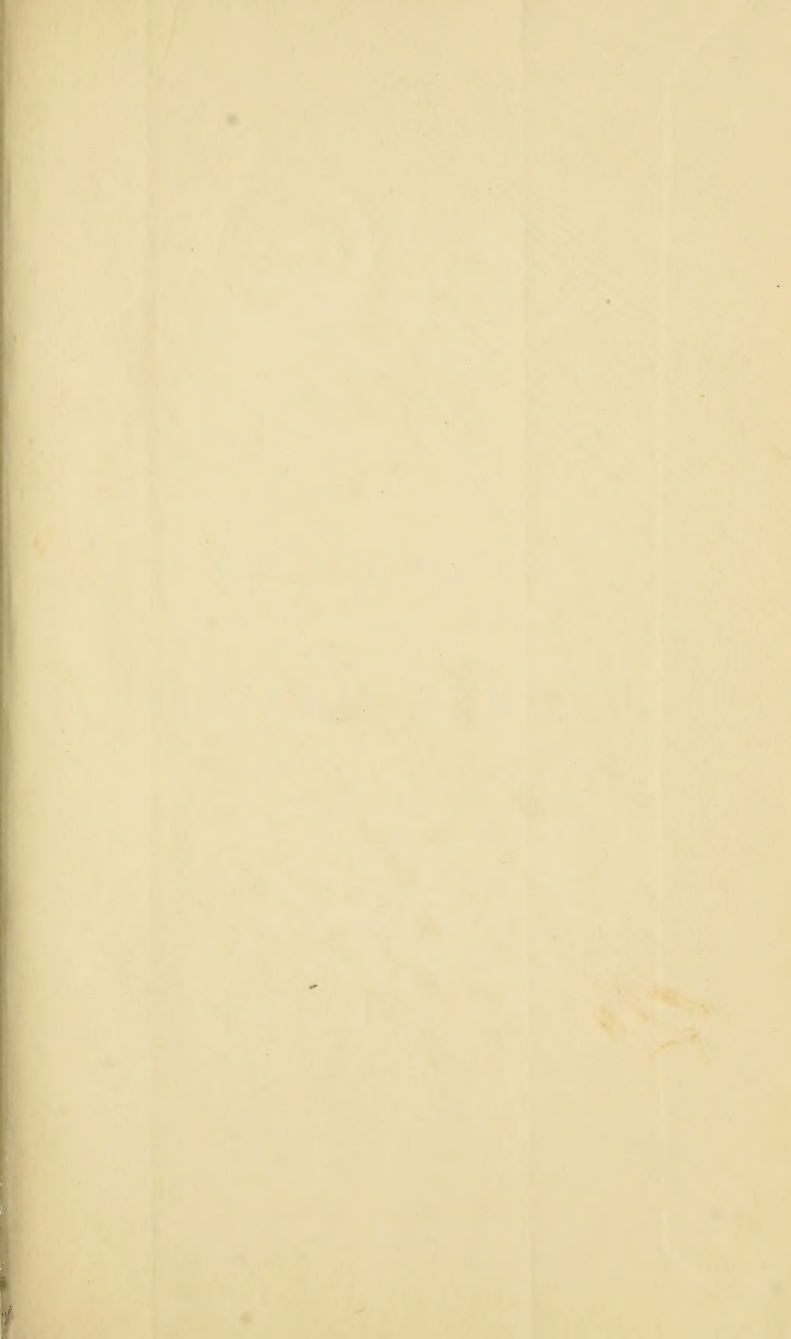




GENERAL HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

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1850

A GENERAL HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE,

FROM THE
BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO
THE COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED,
BY JOHN G. SHEA.



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PREFACE

TO THE SECOND AMERICAN EDITION.

IN preparing a new edition of this history and continuing it to the present time, the editor has sought to conform as far as possible to the plan and spirit of the original work. The alterations which he has permitted himself to make, are chiefly to remove what seemed to partake of national bias. The work itself is too well known to need any approval here. The first edition in this country was published at the express request of one, who stands at the height of his profession, then and now deeply interested in the education of youth. The author wrote from necessity. Employed in teaching, it was soon evident that no safe work on the period could be procured. Histories, indeed, are to be met with of every size and form: but prejudice, passion, prevention, and party spirit, have given birth to so many of them, that when we reflect, we must admit the charge once boldly made by an eminent modern writer: "History during the last three centuries has been one vast conspiracy against truth."

The author has happily succeeded in supplying the want. For advanced classes in schools, no better work can be adopted: as a book for the library and the general reader, it is perhaps still more valuable. It is not a mere barren compendium; it furnishes, what many will deem in sufficient detail, a clear, bold account of the period in which all the great questions of modern times have arisen, affecting the governments, society, and literature of the age in which we live.

NEW YORK, January, 1870

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

RETROSPECT OF THE STATE OF EUROPE.—ITS STATE FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO THE TREATY OF BLOIS.

THE early part of the sixteenth century forms the commencement of a new and eventful era in the annals of mankind, which may properly be termed the modern period.

From the time of their conversion to Christianity, the semi-barbarous nations which were spread over the north and middle of Europe had been making slow but steady progress in civilization and the refinements of social life, chiefly, if not altogether, under the influence of the church. Learning, arts and sciences had been introduced by her ministers: their buildings were the first specimens of architecture; they were the literati, the repositories of all archives, and as such often made umpires and arbiters by the rude warriors, who, when not called to the field by their liege lord, were almost constantly at variance with some neighbouring baron. Among them the church soon assumed a feudal form, and the Pope, as paramount head of the church, was appealed to as the liege lord of Christendom, by a necessary consequence of the development of the feudal idea. This power was used on the whole for the general good, and many a war was stopped by a decision of the Holy See, which now may excite surprise. But it was not only between prince and prince, or baron and baron, that the church exercised this authority. The cry of the oppressed or of the serf procured her interference, and it was seldom ineffectual. In her bosom rank was forgotten: the peasant might become primate or even pope, and as many did, their natural efforts were to elevate the lower classes.

A great impulse to gradual advancement was given by the Crusades, themselves a proof of the great and general power of the church. Calling together large bodies of men of different nations, they diffused among all, the acquirements separately made by each, and above all, by centralizing power, they put a stop to those interminable wars, which were constantly arming petty states against each other, and the vassal against his lord. Although they failed in their great object, the Crusades opened to the West the science, refinement and arts of the East. The energies they had awakened soon found employment in other channels. A spirit of commercial activity arose, and commercial undertakings were planned on a scale hitherto unknown, yet constantly extending. In opposition to this moneyed spirit, rose a reaction in the church in favor of poverty: every idea was now in activity: palaces, hospitals, vast commercial houses, monasteries, schools, universities, and ever-increasing fleets of well-built ships showed the state of general prosperity, while the numerous guilds and associations of mechanics proved that they were also rising in social importance and power.

Amid this progress the Popes were not idle: to the encouragement which they held out to talent in all its branches, may be traced the rapid progress made in learning and the fine arts from the beginning of the thirteenth century; during the first fifty years of which, universities had been founded in five of the principal cities of Italy, then the centre of commerce and manufactures, and to them students resorted from all parts of Europe. Hospitals and other charitable foundations had been erected and endowed, and those magnificent churches, the architectural beauty of which has been an object of admiration to succeeding ages, raised their pointed spires to heaven.

Later still, the invention of paper, and then of printing in the fifteenth century, gave ardent minds a means of extending the spirit of progress, speculation, and insubordination, and flung to the people at large what had been immured in universities and convents. The invention of the compass threw open to Portugal an easy passage to the rich realms of the East, and disclosed to reluctant Spain a new world beyond the western ocean.* The voyages to India and Ame-

* While the Portuguese, under the peaceful rule of Emanuel, were employed in making acquisitions in the East, and appropriating to them-

rica awakened a spirit of adventure, and a desire for novelty, which, with the general laxity of manners and a constantly increasing spirit of uneasiness of control, argued great changes in the state of Europe.

About the close of the fifteenth century this progressive movement produced its result. Europe had been, as we have seen, a kind of commonwealth, of which, for certain purposes the Pope was a kind of president. His political power had now ceased: the various European states had acquired firmness and solidity: their governments were completely organized and generally despotic: their intercourse with each other more frequent and diplomatic: their thrones were held, not by gallant knights, but by cautious statesmen. Their interests, till then, individual and distinct, now became so completely interwoven, as to render the history of each, to some extent the history of all, as no war of importance could take place between two states without the intervention of others. No general umpire was now acknowledged, but a system of policy grew up, the fundamental doctrine of which is a balance of power among the leading states of Europe.

selves the most lucrative commerce of the then known world, the Spaniards discovered a new continent towards the West, of which Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided in Lisbon, conceived the first idea. His countrymen, whom he proposed to put into possession of another hemisphere, treated him as a visionary: he unfolded his project, in 1484, to the King of Portugal without success: he next applied to the court of Spain, but Ferdinand and Isabella were then engaged in the conquest of Granada, and the Spanish treasury was exhausted. Some authors relate that Columbus, who united the stout heart of a hero with the enlightened mind and persevering spirit of a philosopher, even made offers to Henry VII. of England; but that prince was unwilling, by embarking in an adventurous enterprise, to draw money out of his exchequer, which it was the chief business of his reign to enrich. At length, Ferdinand having completely subjugated the Moorish Empire in Spain, by the conquest of Granada, its stately capital, the enterprising spirit of Isabella began to sympathise with the genius of Columbus. By her assistance he was furnished with a fleet, and set sail from the port of Palos, in Andalusia, on the 3d of August, 1492, in quest of a western continent, with the title of Admiral and Viceroy of the isles and lands which he should discover. He prosecuted his hazardous enterprise in four different voyages, but did not meet with the grateful return justly due to the perils and difficulties he had happily surmounted in the arduous undertaking. In 1499, Americus Vesputius, a Florentine, following the track of the Genoese, sailed to the West. He raised his fame on the superior merit of Columbus, and having powerful friends, had the address, or the pride, to impose his name on the fourth part of the terraqueous globe, as if he had been the first who descried it.

This we shall now see developing amid the chaos of religious feuds.

1500.—At this date, Spain was governed by Ferdinand and Isabella; Portugal by Emanuel; Maximilian I. was Emperor of Germany; Alexander VI. sat in the chair of St. Peter; Bajazet II. ruled at Constantinople, which Mahomet II., a descendant of Othman, had taken with his Turks in 1453. In France, the sceptre was held by Louis XII., and the crown of England was worn by Henry VII. By his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., this monarch united the conflicting claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and put an end to those destructive wars of the rival roses, which for so long a period had laid England desolate, and sent the flower of her nobility to perish in the field or on the scaffold. To prevent the recurrence of similar scenes of bloodshed, he used every endeavour to establish the validity of his claim, in virtue of his descent from the ancient British princes of the island, and applied soon after his accession to Pope Innocent VIII. to confirm his title. If this monarch's prudence degenerated into avarice, and led him to the commission of many acts of injustice and extortion, it must be allowed that he possessed some estimable qualities, and that his wise policy laid the foundation of England's future greatness. Of his two daughters, the elder, Margaret, was married to the King of Scots; Mary, the younger, to Louis XII., who then occupied the throne of France. Desirous also to cement a closer friendship with Ferdinand, King of Arragon and Castile, he affianced his eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine, the fourth daughter of that monarch; and the young prince, on attaining the age of twelve years, was married to her in St. Paul's church with great solemnity. Being a sickly youth, he died a few months after, and Henry, unwilling to forfeit the unpaid moiety of her large dowry, proposed to unite her to his second son: the affair, however, was not brought to a conclusion during his lifetime. Henry VIII., at the period of his father's death, in 1509, was eighteen years of age, handsome in person, accomplished, and exceedingly popular. His accession to the throne was hailed by the nation as the commencement of a new era, during which, it was hoped, this offspring of the blended roses would reign in peace over a united and happy people.

The attention of Europe, at the early part of the century, was chiefly engrossed by the affairs of Italy. Louis XII., pursuing the ambitious projects of his predecessor, crossed

the Alps at the head of an army of 20,000 men, to assert his claim to the duchy of Milan, in right of his grandmother, Valentina, heiress of the house of Visconti. The reigning duke at this period was Ludovico Sforza; though the descendant of a usurper, he had been confirmed in that dignity by the emperor, who had married his daughter Blanche, and from whom he might naturally have expected protection. But Maximilian being then engaged in opposing the Swiss, who had recently revolted from Austria, was in no condition to assist him, and, therefore, prudently concealed his real weakness under an affected indifference. Within the space of twenty days, the French king made himself master of the whole territory of Milan, and subdued the republic of Genoa; while the Venetians, his allies, occupied Cremona. Not satisfied with these important acquisitions, he entered into a league with Ferdinand of Arragon against Frederic, King of Naples, who, unable to resist the united forces of the combined sovereigns, resigned his crown. But dissensions arose between the conquerors: from allies they became enemies, and Louis was eventually constrained, by the arms of the celebrated Gonsalvo de Cordova, to abandon all the possessions he had acquired in the territory of Naples. Finding himself baffled in various attempts to recover them, and being extremely desirous to secure the Duchy of Milan, he signed, in 1505, a treaty at Blois, with the emperor, who, in consideration of a large sum of money, granted him the investiture of that duchy. Ludovico Sforza was sent a prisoner to France, where he died.

To the Emperor Maximilian the house of Austria is principally indebted for its subsequent aggrandizement. By his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy, he acquired for his posterity a claim to that wealthy province; while the union of his son the Archduke Philip with Jane the daughter and sole heiress of Ferdinand and Isabella, secured to his descendants the crown of Spain. The Archduke died in 1506, leaving his son Charles, to the astonishment of all Europe, under the guardianship of the King of France.

Pius III., who, in 1503, succeeded Alexander VI. in the see of Rome, survived his election but twenty-six days. He was followed by Julius II., a Pontiff of warlike and enterprising character, who could not with indifference see so large a portion of the Italian territory fall under the dominion of foreign princes. To drive these beyond the Alps was the primary object of his policy, and in it he so far succeeded as to leave

under the sway of his successors all the beautiful country from Placentia to Terracina. But the encroachments of the Venetians, who had unjustly seized on the northern part of the province of Romagna, demanded his more immediate attention.

GENERAL HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE, FROM THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF BLOIS TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN, IN 1519.

THE treaty of Blois had restored peace to Europe, but the interval of tranquillity was of short duration. The enterprising spirit of Julius II. led him to form the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy, and he determined in the first place to oblige the Venetians to restore the towns they had seized upon at the demise of Alexander VI.

The celebrated republic of Venice took its rise during the inroads of the barbarians in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterwards grew rich by commerce. All the nations in Europe depended on the Venetians not only for the precious commodities of the East, which they imported by way of Egypt, but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity unknown in other countries. At the epoch of which we treat, Venice extended her dominion from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia, and her wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could scarcely vie with her private citizens in splendour and elegance.

The refusal of the Venetians to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church, gave occasion to the League of Cambray, formed to humble this proud republic, in 1508. The emperor, the Kings of France and Spain, and the Pope, were principals in the league, which, questionless, was one of the most extensive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

Julius II. employed the censures of the church against the

Venetians, while the impetuous valour of the French rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the safety of the republic; and the battle of Aignadel, fought near the river Adda, entirely ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Finding their affairs desperate, the Venetians concluded an alliance with the Holy See against France, and were absolved from the anathema pronounced against them. Pope Julius declared war against the Duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis, and solicited the favour of Henry VIII., who had lately, in 1509, ascended the throne of England. Julius detached Ferdinand from the league, by granting him the full investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and in 1510 he formed a treaty with the Swiss, whom Lewis had offended. The confederacy of Cambray being thus dissolved, the face of affairs soon changed in Italy. The Venetians, recovering from the consternation into which they had been thrown, were able to make head against the emperor, and to regain part of the territory which they had lost. Lewis, in the mean time, was doubtful how to act, and Ferdinand, taking advantage of his irresolution, seized upon the kingdom of Navarre in 1511. The method which he took to effect this conquest was singular. Henry VIII., his son-in-law, naturally sanguine in temper, was moved with a desire of protecting the Pope from that oppression to which he believed him exposed from the French monarch. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the conflicting powers. Ferdinand saw his intemperate ardour, and made him the instrument of his own ambition. He engaged him not to invade France by the way of Calais, but to send his troops to Fontarabia, that they might act in concert with his army; and Henry found, to his disappointment, that his forces returned diminished by want and sickness, after having, by their presence at sea, shielded the Spanish troops from their enemies in the reduction of Navarre.

1512.—Though the war which England waged against France brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces from Italy, lost him that superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had acquired in that country. The Swiss, who had now rendered themselves formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the duchy of Milan with a numerous army, and excited its inconstant inhabitants to a revolt against the dominion of France.

Genoa followed the example of that duchy, and Lewis, in the course of a few weeks, totally lost his Italian conquest. The expulsion of the French gave much pleasure to Julius II., but, worn out with age and worldly solicitude, he died very soon after, on the 20th of February, 1513. Julius was succeeded in the pontificate by John of Medicis, son of the celebrated Laurence, who had governed Florence with so much reputation, and obtained the appellation of Father of the Muses. John took the name of Leo X. In him the literati found a warm friend and steady patron, the arts and sciences a munificent encourager and protector. From his pontificate the republic of letters dates a new era. Humane, generous, affable, the patron of every art, and the friend of every virtue, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but he was more delicate in the choice of means for the execution of them. Yet Leo X. had the affliction to witness the origin of those heresies which have detached a great part of Europe from the see of Rome.

By the negotiations of this Pope, who adhered to the political system of Julius, the Emperor Maximilian was gained over from the French interest, and Henry VIII., notwithstanding his disappointment in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis.

1513.—This projected invasion of France roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland, was esteemed the most sacred bond of connection, and universally believed by the Scots essential to the preservation of their independence against a people so much superior in strength and number as the English. Therefore, though James IV. made professions of maintaining a neutrality, Henry sent the Earl of Surrey to put the borders into a posture of defence, while he invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies on whose assistance he relied, the Swiss alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his, although he had received in advance a subsidy of 120,000 crowns. That he might make some atonement, however, for his breach of faith, he appeared in person in the Low Countries, and joined the English army, with a small body of German and Flemish troops. He even carried his condescension so far as to enlist himself in the service of the English monarch, and received a hundred ducats per day for the use of his table. The first enterprise which the English undertook, was the siege of Terouane on the borders of Picardy. During the

attack of this place, was fought the famous battle of Guinegate, when the cavalry of France fled at the first onset. This action, or rather rout, is called the *Battle of Spurs*, because in it the French made more use of them than of their military weapons. The Swiss, at the same time, had entered Burgundy with a formidable army, and the Catholic king, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to seize every advantage which fortune should present to him. Lewis, though fruitful in expedients, was now at a loss what course to follow; his troops were dismayed, his people intimidated, and he had no ally to assist him. But France was saved by the blunders of her enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be wheedled into a negotiation by Tremouille, Governor of Burgundy, without inquiring whether he had any powers to treat. Henry discovered no less ignorance in the conduct of war than the Swiss in negotiation. By the interested counsel of Maximilian he laid siege to Tournay. Soon after the reduction of this place, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiss, and as the season was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and to carry with him the greatest part of his army. Such was the issue of a campaign, much boasted of by the English monarch, but which, all circumstances considered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

The success which during this season attended the English arms in North Britain, was more decisive. James IV. of Scotland had assembled the whole force of his dominions and crossed the Tweed, at the head of a brave though tumultuous army of 50,000 men. But his troops became dissatisfied; and the Earl of Surrey having collected an army of 26,000 men, drew the Scots from their station near the Cheviot Hills, and an obstinate battle was fought in the field of Flodden, September 9th, 1513, in which the King of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were slain. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered to Henry of extending his dominion over the whole island, compassion for the helpless condition of his sister Margaret and her infant son prevailed with him to grant peace to Scotland as soon as it was applied for.

1514.—A general pacification took place shortly after between the contending powers; and Lewis XII., rescued from his numerous difficulties, had the happiness of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed his happiness only a short while; dying about three months after his marriage with the Princess Mary of England, sister of Henry VIII. This event happened in 1515,

when he was meditating anew the conquest of Milan, which was left to immortalize the name and swell the misfortunes of his successor. Few princes seem to have been more beloved by their subjects than Lewis: he obtained the surname of Father of his People, a title with which he was particularly delighted, and which he always studied to deserve. His very misfortunes endeared him to his subjects, because it was well known that he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would have levied more taxes on his people, whose burdens he had diminished above one-half.

Lewis XII. was succeeded on the throne of France by his son-in-law, Francis, Count of Angoulême, first prince of the blood. Young, brave, ambitious, and enterprising, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy, as the scene of glory and conquest. But before he set out on that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predecessor had made with England, and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched his army towards the Alps, under pretence of defending his kingdom against the incursions of the Swiss. Informed of his hostile intentions, that warlike people had taken up arms, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, Duke of Milan, whom they had restored to his dominions, and thought themselves bound in honour to support. These hardy mountaineers took possession of all those passes in the Alps, through which they thought the French must enter Italy, and when informed that Francis had made his way into Piedmont, by a secret route, they descended undismayed into the plain, and gallantly opposed themselves on foot to the heavy armed cavalry of France. The two armies met at Marignan, near Milan, where, Sept. 13th, 1515, was fought one of the most furious and obstinate battles mentioned in the history of modern times. The advantage was on the side of the French, but their loss was very considerable: the Maréchal Trevulzio, who had been present at eighteen pitched battles, used to declare, that in comparison of the battle of Marignan, every other engagement he had seen was but the contention of children; this, a combat of heroes. The surrender of the city of Milan, and the conquest of the whole duchy, were the consequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim, and accepted of a pension; and Francis, having concluded a treaty with the Pope and with the Swiss, returned into France, leaving to Charles, Duke of Bourbon, the government of his Italian dominions.

The success of the French monarch began to excite jea-

lousy in the breast of the old Emperor Maximilian, nor was it regarded with indifference by the King of England. Maximilian invaded Italy with a considerable army, but being repulsed by the French, he returned to Germany, made peace with France and Venice, ceded Verona to that republic, for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself, in some measure, from all future access into Italy. This peace was preceded by the death of Ferdinand, the Catholic king, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions; an event which had been long looked for, and from which the most important consequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, which he inherited as heir of the house of Burgundy, was received by the Spaniards with universal acclamations of joy. Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, a person of equal virtue and sagacity, had been appointed, by the will of Ferdinand, sole Regent of Castile till the arrival of the young king, and succeeded in maintaining his authority, notwithstanding the discontents of a turbulent nobility.

1517.—While Charles was taking possession of the throne of Spain, in consequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, where he strove to gain the favour of the Electors, to engage them to choose that young prince as his successor.

1519.—The diet of Augsburg was soon followed by the death of the Emperor Maximilian, an event in itself of little moment, as that prince had for some years ceased to exercise any influence in the affairs of Europe; but as it left vacant the first station among Christian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects; for it awakened a jealousy which threw all Europe into agitation, and enkindled wars more general and lasting than any which had hitherto desolated Christendom. It is proper to remark, that during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was divided into Circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established, to supply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign also was instituted the Imperial Chambers, composed of judges, nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and vested with authority to decide finally, concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulic Council, too, which takes cognisance of all feudal causes, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received a new form.

CHAPTER II.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE ELECTION OF CHARLES V., IN 1519, TO THE PEACE OF CAMBRAY IN 1529.

1519.—Though Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to choose his grandson Charles King of the Romans, he had disposed their minds in favour of that prince; and other circumstances, on the death of the emperor, concurred to the exaltation of Charles. The imperial crown had so long continued in the Austrian line, that it began to be considered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious disputes, stood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preserve its own internal tranquillity, but also to protect it against the victorious arms of the Turks, who under Selim I. threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror had already subdued the Mamelukes, a barbarous militia that had dismembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themselves masters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared necessary to oppose that of Selim. The extensive dominions of the house of Austria, which gave him an interest in the preservation of Germany; the rich sovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche Comté, the entire possession of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily, all united to qualify him for the first dignity among Christian princes; and the new world seemed only to be called into existence that its treasures might enable him to defend Christendom against the infidels.*

Francis I., however, no sooner heard of the death of Maximilian, than he declared himself a candidate for the empire, and with no less confidence of success than Charles. He trusted to his riper years and superior experience, with his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan and the conquest of Milan; but Charles, whose youth and inexperience gave less cause of apprehension than the enterprising genius of his adversary, was preferred by the electors. Francis could not suppress his indignation at being defeated in his favourite project, and rejected in the face of all Europe for a youth yet unknown to fame; and hence arose that rivalry

* The conquest of Mexico was this year effected by the Spaniards, under Ferdinand Cortes. Peru was subdued in 1532, by the arms of Pizarro.

between those two great monarchs, which involved them in almost perpetual hostilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy : the latter likewise thought himself bound to restore the King of Navarre to his dominions, which had been seized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negotiate ; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendship was courted by each of the rivals.

1520.—Francis I. solicited an interview with the King of England near Calais, in hopes of attaching him to his friendship and interest. Politic, though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes ; finding it, however, impossible to prevent it, he endeavoured to defeat its purpose and to preoccupy the favour of the English monarch. Relying wholly on Henry's generosity for his safety, he landed at Dover in his way from Spain to the Low Countries. The King of England, charmed with such an instance of confidence, hastened to receive his royal guest, and Charles had the address, not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and intentions, but entirely to detach Wolsey, the favourite and prime minister of the English king, from the interest of Francis. On the day of Charles's departure, Henry went over to Calais with his whole court, in order to meet Francis. Their interview took place in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres, where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense, as to procure it the name of the "Field of cloth of gold." Charles again met Henry at Gravelines, attended him to Calais, and offered to submit to his sole arbitration any difference that might arise between himself and Francis. This important point being secured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was solemnly invested with the crown and sceptre of Charlemagne, in presence of a more splendid assembly than had appeared at any former inauguration.

About the same time Solyman II., surnamed the Magnificent, one of the most accomplished, enterprising, and warlike of the Turkish princes, ascended the Ottoman throne, in consequence of the death of Selim.

The first act of Charles's administration was the appointing of a diet to be held at Worms, in order to concert, with the princes of the empire, proper measures for checking the progress of Lutheranism.

Martin Luther was an Augustinian friar, doctor, and professor of divinity in the new university of Wittenberg: his vocation to a cenobitical state of life seems to have arisen from mere fright. During the course of his studies, as he was one day walking abroad with a fellow-student, a tremendous thunder-storm came on, and a vivid flash of lightning struck his companion dead at his feet. Trembling with fear, he that instant vowed to dedicate himself to God in some monastic order. His proficiency in learning, after a few years, acquired him the reputation of an able divine, and a strong, nervous kind of expression made him pass for a good preacher. He was in the thirty-fourth year of his age, when the publication of the indulgences granted by Leo X. to such as should undertake a crusade against the Turks, or contribute to the rebuilding of the Basilic of St. Peter at Rome, afforded him the opportunity of openly avowing his erroneous opinions. On similar occasions, when a crusade was set on foot, the Augustins had been usually appointed to announce it from the pulpit, but they had the mortification this time to see the Dominicans pitched upon in preference to themselves. These preachers were accused of many irregularities in the execution, which, whether true or false, Luther failed not to make the subject of the most bitter and virulent declamations. The university of Wittenberg, and Frederic, Elector of Saxony, openly espoused his interest. Emboldened by their support, and encouraged by the admiration which his discourses excited, he began to inveigh not only against occasional abuses, but against the very nature of indulgences, the doctrine upon original sin, the seven sacraments, and many practices of the Catholic religion.

Lutheranism in 1517 was but a spark, but not being immediately extinguished, in the following year it kindled into a mighty conflagration. Among the many publications that appeared, a treatise upon the seven sacraments attracted universal notice, on account of its reputed author. It was attributed to Henry VIII., though Dr. Fisher, the renowned Bishop of Rochester, is thought to have had the chief hand in its composition. Pope Leo X., to whom the work was dedicated, bestowed upon the reputed author, in 1521, the honourable title of "*Defender of the Faith*," a title retained by the Kings of England to the present day.

In the diet held at Worms, Luther and his errors were condemned. The heresiarch found a secure retreat in the court

of his old friend the Elector of Saxony, and Charles, for a time, had other matters to engage his attention.

1521.—The Spaniards, incensed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed since the death of Cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. This seemed to Francis a favourable juncture for reinstating the family of John d'Albret in the kingdom of Navarre. He immediately sent thither a French army under Andrew de Foix, and Navarre was speedily conquered; but the French commander, who was young and inexperienced, dazzled with his success, ventured to enter Castile. The Spaniards, though divided among themselves, united against a foreign enemy, routed his forces, took him prisoner, and recovered Navarre in a shorter time than Andrew de Foix had spent in subduing it.

Hostilities, thus begun in one quarter between the rival monarchs, rapidly spread to another. The King of France encouraged the Duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worsted before Mezieres by the famous Chevalier de Bayard, distinguished among his contemporaries by the appellation of "The knight without fear and without reproach."

In the mean time Francis broke into the Low Countries, where he disgusted the Constable Bourbon by giving the command of the van to the Duke of Alençon.

During these operations in the field, an unsuccessful congress was held at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII., and a league was soon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolsey, between the Pope, Henry, and Charles, against France.

The exactions of Lautrec, Governor of Milan, had alienated the affections of the Milanese from Francis. They put themselves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother of Maximilian, their late duke, and gave up their capital to the confederates. Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclesiastical state, and of their conquests in Lombardy, the French had now only the town of Cremona and a few inconsiderable forts.

The death of Pope Leo X. suspended awhile the operations of the war in Italy. Cardinal Adrian, of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character of viceroy, was raised to the Papacy—he is known by the name of Adrian VI.

1522.—The war was renewed, to the still greater disadvan-

tage of Francis than before; and while the Christian princes were thus wasting each other's strength, Solymán the Magnificent entered Hungary and made himself master of Belgrade, reckoned the chief barrier of that kingdom against the Turkish power. Encouraged by this success, he turned his victorious arms against the Isle of Rhodes, then the seat of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Christendom in the Levant, so violent was their animosity against each other, that they suffered Solymán to carry on his operations against that city and island, which yielded to his arms after a most gallant defence in a siege of six months. Charles and Francis were equally ashamed of having occasioned through their contests such a loss to the Christian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the Knights of St. John the small island of Malta, where they fixed their residence.

Adrian VI., though devoted to the emperor, endeavoured to assume the impartiality which became the common father of Christendom, and laboured, in vain, to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league against Solymán.

1523.—The confederacy against France became more formidable than ever. The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to the French interest, formed engagements with the emperor; and the Pope acceded to the same alliance. The Florentines, the Dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, with all the other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without a single ally to resist the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whose armies everywhere threatened, and whose territories encompassed, his dominions. The emperor, in person, at the head of a Spanish army, menaced France on the side of Guienne, the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy, and a numerous body of Germans was preparing to ravage Burgundy. Before his enemies were able to strike a blow, Francis assembled a powerful army, which he resolved to lead into Italy; but the discovery of a domestic conspiracy obliged him to stop short at Lyons. Charles, Duke of Bourbon, High Constable of France, being driven to the last extremity by repeated affronts and injuries, entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the King of England. Francis received information of Bourbon's treachery, yet suffered him to escape; and Bourbon, entering the emperor's service, employed all his genius and skill to the prejudice of his sovereign and his native country. Francis.

upon this discovery, gave the command of his forces, consisting of 30,000 men, to Admiral Bonnivet, who, not daring to engage the imperial army, commanded by the two greatest generals of this age, (the Duke of Bourbon and the Marquis Pescara,) after losing much time in frivolous enterprises, attempted to retreat into France. He was pursued by the Imperial generals and routed at Biagrasa. Here fell the Chevalier Bayard, after sustaining at the head of the cavalry the whole shock of the Imperial army, and thus gaining time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. Having received a mortal wound, he ordered his attendants to place him under a tree, where he waited the approach of death. In this situation he was found by the Duke of Bourbon, who led the van of the Imperialists, and who expressed much sorrow for his fate. "Pity not me," cried the highminded Chevalier; "I die as a man of honour ought, in the discharge of my duty, but pity those who fight against their king, their country, and their oath."

Francis still aimed at the conquest of Milan, and he now resolved to march into Italy. No sooner had the French army appeared in Piedmont, than the whole duchy of Milan was thrown into consternation—the capital opened its gates—the forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi; but Francis, instead of pursuing them, laid siege to Pavia, a town of considerable strength, well garrisoned and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the bravest officers in the Spanish service.

1525.—The siege of Pavia had lasted three months, when the Imperial army, greatly strengthened by new levies, came to relieve the place. A desperate battle was fought on the 24th of February, in which Francis, after performing prodigies of valour, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner. Yet he obstinately refused to deliver up his sword to Bourbon. Lannoy received it. This victory and the captivity of Francis filled all Europe with alarm. Almost the whole French army was cut off; Milan was immediately abandoned, and in a few weeks not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor became the object of universal terror, and resolutions were everywhere taken to set bounds to it. Henry VIII. had always retained some imperfect idea of the balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis, the preservation of which, he boasted, was his peculiar office. He now became sensible of the danger all Europe was in, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage, therefore, of the

distressed condition of France, the English monarch determined to assist her in her present calamities. Another cause conspired to enforce this resolution. Wolsey was disappointed in his hopes of the papacy by the elevation of Cardinal Medicis, under the name of Clement VII.; and the English minister, attributing the cause of his disappointment to the emperor, resolved on revenge.*

Meanwhile Francis, who was rigorously confined, desired to be removed to Spain, where the emperor then resided. The following year, 1526, a treaty was concluded by which Francis obtained his liberty. The chief articles in this treaty were, that Burgundy should be restored to Charles, as the rightful inheritance of his ancestors; and that the two eldest sons of Francis should be immediately given up as hostages for the performance of the conditions stipulated. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children was made on the frontiers of France and Spain: but Francis never meant to execute the treaty of Madrid, and when the imperial ambassadors urged their claims, he answered that he would perform the articles relative to himself, but in those affecting the French monarchy, he must be guided by the sense of the nation; and that the States of Burgundy protested against the article relating to their province. The emperor saw himself overreached, while the Italian States observed with pleasure that Francis was resolved to evade the execution of a treaty which they considered dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII., the Kings of France and England, the Swiss, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milanese, entered into an alliance to which they gave the name of the Holy League, because his Holiness was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up the sons of Francis on the payment of a reasonable ransom, and to re-establish Sforza in the possession of Milan.

In consequence of this league the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the scene of war. The Duke of Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialists, overran the whole duchy of Milan, and his troops beginning to mutiny

* With a view of transmitting his name to posterity, Wolsey, about this time, began to erect two new colleges, one in Oxford, where he was educated, and another at Ipswich, the place of his birth. For the completion of this noble and expensive object, without diminishing his own treasure, he obtained a grant from Rome in 1524, to suppress forty religious houses, and to convert their property to his own uses. This fatal precedent opened the door to a train of unforeseen consequences.

for want of pay, he boldly led them to Rome, in spite of every obstacle, by offering to their avidity the spoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them; for though he himself was slain in the assault, his followers, chiefly Lutherans, more enraged than discouraged by that misfortune, entered the city sword in hand, and pillaged it for many days. Never did Rome experience in any age so many calamities, not even from the barbarians by whom she had been successively subdued,—from the followers of Alaric, Genseric, or Odoacer, as now from the subjects of a Christian monarch. Whatever was respectable or sacred in religion, seemed only to heighten the rage of the soldiery. Clement himself, who had taken refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, was obliged to surrender at discretion, and found that his sacred character could neither procure him liberty or respect. He was doomed to close confinement, until he should pay an enormous ransom, imposed by the victorious army, and surrender to the emperor all the places of strength belonging to the apostolic see.

The emperor was seized with horror at the news of the outrages committed in the taking of Rome, stopped the rejoicings for the birth of his son Philip, and ordered that the Pope should be immediately released from confinement.

1527.—The war continued in Italy, chiefly to the disadvantage of Francis. His army was utterly ruined before Naples, and his misfortunes forced him at last to sue for peace. At the same time, Charles, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, had many reasons to wish for an accommodation. Solyman the Magnificent, having overrun Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territory with the whole force of the Ottoman empire, and the progress of Luther's reformation in Germany threatened the tranquillity of that country. In consequence of this situation of affairs, Margaret of Austria, aunt to Charles, and Louisa, the mother of Francis, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of a pacification between the French king and the emperor. (1529.)

Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as a ransom for his two sons, to resign the sovereignty of Artois and Flanders, and forego all his Italian claims; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy. The Florentines alone, now reduced under the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reason to complain of the emperor; Sforza obtained the investiture of the duchy of Milan, and every other power experienced the lenity of the victor.

1530.—Charles, who had received the Imperial crown from

the hands of the Pope, now prepared to revisit Germany, where his presence was become necessary : for although the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, on whom he had conferred the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and who had been elected King of Hungary, had obliged Solyman to withdraw his forces, his return was to be feared ; and the disorders of religion were daily increasing.

CHAPTER III.

CHANGE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND.

WHILE the continent was thus disturbed with the innovations of Luther and his followers in religious matters, an unfortunate circumstance occurred, which occasioned a similar change in England. Henry, who, by a particular dispensation from the Pope, had married his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, after having lived seventeen years with her in the closest union, now pretended a scruple of conscience, and separated from her. He had, unhappily, fixed his affections on Anna Bullen, one of the queen's maids of honour, and as nothing but a divorce with Catherine could leave him at liberty to contract a second marriage, he was resolved to obtain one. To this effect, he urged the nullity of a marriage with a brother's widow ; and the whole year of 1527 was employed in preparing the nation for this important event. The bishops of the realm were consulted upon the subject ; they met and deliberated, but came to no decision. It is said that when the king first mentioned to Cardinal Wolsey his intention of suing for a divorce in the court of Rome, the cardinal flung himself upon his knees and earnestly entreated his majesty not to think of it ; but when he perceived that the king was positive and expected his concurrence, he undertook to negotiate the whole business.

The Pope was at that time a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, and the application from England afforded him a fair opportunity of revenging himself upon the emperor, by granting a sentence of divorce against Catherine, who was aunt to Charles. But Clement would not allow the base suggestions of interest and revenge to prevail over justice and religion ; in proof of his friendly disposition towards Henry, as far as equity would admit, he consented that the cause should be

tried in England by a legatine court, in which he commissioned the two cardinals, Wolsey and Campegio, both English subjects,* to sit as judges. But as the queen appealed to Rome, his Holiness sent positive orders to the two cardinals to close their sessions in England, and adjourn to the consistorial court of Rome. Campegio quitted England, and Wolsey fell into disgrace.

While the nation was held in suspense how this interesting cause would end, a new personage appeared, who took upon himself to pronounce decidedly upon its merits. This was Thomas Cranmer, doctor of divinity and fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, who, on declaring for the king's divorce, was introduced at court. He was immediately commissioned to despatch agents to the continent, in order to procure a favourable decision from the foreign universities. Some signatures were indeed obtained, but it was by the help of "bribery and sinister working," as the declaration of Parliament expressed it in Queen Mary's reign. Cranmer, though a married man, and a Lutheran in his heart, being deeply skilled in the art of dissimulation, had no difficulty in concealing both; and being nominated by the king to fill the vacant see of Canterbury, obtained his bulls of consecration, and was consecrated in March, 1533.

The king, before this, had taken a step which proves that his resolution was fixed, whatever might be the result of the proceedings at Rome, by privately marrying Anna Bullen. In the month of May, Cranmer, in virtue of the king's authority alone, pronounced the former marriage null, and ratified his subsequent connexion, which had been contracted the November before. His sentence was confirmed by an obsequious Parliament in January, 1534.†

Pope Clement had delayed pronouncing definitively upon the subject of the divorce, because it was not in his power to decide in the king's favour, and he wished to avoid exasperating him by a sentence in opposition to his wishes. Time, he hoped, might work a change, and in the interim, he endeavoured, by expostulations and threats, to inspire his majesty with more Christian sentiments. But when he was officially informed of what had passed in England, he judged it incompatible with his pastoral duty to remain any longer silent: and in

* Cardinal Campegio, an Italian by birth, had recently been nominated by Henry VIII. to the see of Salisbury.

† Reeve's History of the Christian Church, vol. 3.

May, 1534, he signed a bull which declared the marriage between Henry and Catherine valid, and the sentence of Cranmer, pronouncing the divorce, null and void. Clement died the September following, without having proceeded to farther censures ; nor was it till the year 1538, that Paul III., successor to Clement, being compelled by King Henry's impieties, as Echard expresses it,* pronounced sentence of excommunication against him and the whole English nation. The Parliament met again in November, according to appointment, and conferred upon the king the title of the only supreme head of the Church of England ; they consequently granted to him and his successors, or rather acknowledged in them, an inherent power to exercise every act of spiritual authority or jurisdiction. Thus, by that memorable act of the legislature, the English schism was formally established, and the whole plenitude of spiritual supremacy was declared solely to belong to the imperial crown of these realms.

Uncommon pains had been taken to prepare the nation for this innovation in religion. All appeals to Rome had been forbidden by law from the year 1532. The clergy were restrained under severe penalties from meeting in convocation without the king's leave : the temporizing bishops surrendered their sacred trust, and solemnly promised never from that time to meet in convocation, but by the king's command, nor to decide in any matter, but as he should direct.* Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was the only one who opposed his majesty's will, and was therefore attainted of high treason, and beheaded on the 22d of June, 1535 ; and in the ensuing month, Sir Thomas More, late Lord Chancellor of England, met with a similar fate for the same cause. Some laws against heretics made in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. were repealed, but those persons who relapsed into errors or refused to abjure them, were condemned, on conviction, to be burned alive, which law the king caused to be executed with great severity.

Queen Catherine died on the 8th of January, 1536. She had had many children by Henry, of whom only one, the Princess Mary, survived her. Her sufferings never betrayed her into any concessions contrary to her dignity, or prejudicial to her daughter's rights, though every method was employed to make her derogate from both. The king did not refuse the tribute of a tear to the news of her death, and though

* Echard's History of England.

he subsequently persecuted the memory of her rival with contempt and execration, he was not so totally lost to all sense of humanity and worth, as to deny his esteem to that of Catherine of Arragon.

This year the Parliament, by the king's order, passed an act for the suppression of religious houses, by which about 400 of the lesser monasteries, which maintained 10,000 religious persons, were suppressed, and their revenues bestowed upon the king. Immoralities which had been reported, but never proved against them, are stated in the preamble of the act as the cause of their suppression. But the seizure of the lesser houses was only the beginning of more extensive sacrilege. There were at this time about 700 monasteries remaining in England and Wales, of which twenty-eight gave their abbots a seat in the House of Peers. Their revenues, though very large, did not exceed one-twentieth of the national income, a sum much below what a design to destroy them first gave out, and credulity has since retained. It was judged expedient that the seizure of these monasteries should pass for a surrender and voluntary cession on the part of those who were despoiled of their possessions. Various compulsive measures were therefore made use of to oblige the superiors of these houses to comply with the king's will, and large pensions offered to those who submitted. By such surrenders and by violent expulsion, all the monasteries were extirpated within two years, and their revenues appropriated by the king. "England sat weeping," says Camden, "to see her wealth exhausted, her coin embased, and her abbeys, which were the monuments of her ancient piety, demolished." For, by the advice of Cromwell,* whom he had appointed his vicar-general, Henry caused the very buildings to be destroyed, lest the former possessors might attempt to re-enter them.† The poor had hitherto been supplied with food from the monasteries; when these were suppressed, the number and distress of indigent families began to multiply,

* Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith in Putney, had been employed by Wolsey, after whose death he came into favour, and was loaded with honours. Cardinal Pole, in his *Apolog. Reg.* says, that Cromwell imbibed his opinions on kingly power in a book, entitled "*On the Art of Government.*" (Il principe,) which he earnestly recommended to the cardinal's perusal. On reading it, he says, that he found in it every stratagem by which religion, justice, and good faith are to be defeated, and every human and divine virtue become a prey to selfishness, dissimulation and falsehood. It was written by Machiavel, a native of Florence, who died in 1527.

† See the *Life of Cardinal Pole*, vol. 1st, p. 57.

and assessments upon the parishes, which were before unknown, became necessary for their support. The increased amount of the poor's rates at this distant period, proves that the nation is now paying dearly for the rapine committed in the days of Henry VIII. But the king, with all his plunder, was neither rich nor happy : what he acquired by injustice, he as quickly wasted by extravagance, and even his late marriage with Anna Bullen was now become the source of trouble. She who had supplanted the virtuous Catherine, was now supplanted in her turn by one of her own attendants, Lady Jane Seymour. The lightness of her carriage raised suspicions of guilt, and upon these suspicions she was beheaded, May 19th, 1536, having been previously degraded from her dignity, and her marriage annulled by Archbishop Cranmer. She left one daughter, the Princess Elizabeth. The day after the execution of Anna Bullen, the king married Lady Jane Seymour, who died the following year, a few days after she had given birth to a son, who was named Edward.

After her death, Henry remained a widower two years ; then, to mortify the emperor and the Pope, he resolved to take for his fourth wife a daughter of some German prince, who was engaged in the Lutheran confederacy against the house of Austria. The choice of his future consort he left to his minister, Cromwell, who presented to him Anna, the daughter of the Duke of Cleves. But the king conceiving a dislike to her, as soon as the marriage was solemnized, the compliant Parliament granted a divorce between them, and Cromwell fell into disgrace. He was soon after arrested by the Duke of Norfolk, condemned for heresy, and beheaded. The duke's niece, Lady Catherine Howard, became the king's next wife ; she proved unfaithful, and suffered death in February, 1542. Henry's sixth wife was Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer. This lady was infected with Lutheranism, and on that account Henry had secretly resolved on her death, but she had the art to elude the king's inquiries, and induce him to alter his resolution.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE (WITH THE PROGRESS OF LUTHERANISM) CONTINUED, FROM THE PEACE OF CAMBRAY TO THAT OF CRESPEY, IN 1544.

THE Reformation had gained much ground in Germany, during that long interval of tranquillity, which the absence of the emperor, and his attention to the war with France, afforded its promoters. Almost one-half of the Germanic body had revolted from the see of Rome, and the remaining states were considerably weakened by the example of their neighbours, or by the secret progress of Lutheranism among them. The rapidity with which heresy overran these countries was boasted of by Luther as a proof of his divine legation; but there is nothing wonderful in the eagerness of ignorant and carnal men to embrace a doctrine which, by rejecting the necessity of good works for salvation, promised them heaven without requiring any great endeavours on their side to gain it. Luther was soon joined in his revolt against the church by a band of auxiliaries; among whom, Calvin, Melancthon, Zuinglius, and Beza, are particularly distinguished. They were all united in their hostility towards the church of Rome, while they equally differed in their opinions respecting faith, and by their disagreements and warm disputes among themselves, gave Luther no less trouble than his Catholic opponents.

1529.—The emperor saw that these religious divisions tended equally to the ruin of religion and of the imperial authority; he accordingly appointed a diet of the empire to be held at Spire; in it Luther and his innovations in religious matters were again condemned. Against this decree, the Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Lunenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, together with the deputies of fourteen imperial, or free cities, entered a solemn protest. On that account the name of Protestant was given to them. Such was the state of religion when Charles returned to Germany in 1530. He assisted in person at the Diet of Augsburg, where the Protestants presented their system of opinions, known by the name of the Confession of Augsburg. The Protestant princes, finding themselves again condemned, assembled at Smalkalde, and con-

cluded a league of mutual defence. Meanwhile many circumstances convinced Charles that this was not the proper season to attempt the extirpation of heresy by the sword. He saw Solyman ready to enter Hungary with the whole force of the Turkish empire; the peace with France was precarious; the emperor, therefore, by a treaty concluded at Nuremberg, and solemnly ratified in a diet at Ratisbon, granted the Protestants liberty of conscience until the meeting of a general council, and they agreed on their part to assist him powerfully against the Turks.

This treaty was no sooner signed, in 1532, than Charles received information that Solyman had entered Hungary at the head of 300,000 men. The imperial army, consisting of 90,000 disciplined foot and 30,000 horse, besides a prodigious swarm of irregulars, immediately assembled in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vast body, the emperor, for the first time, took the command in person; and Europe waited in anxious suspense the issue of a decisive battle between the two greatest potentates in the universe. But each, dreading the other's power and good fortune, conducted his operations with so much caution, that a campaign from which the most important consequences had been expected, closed without any memorable event. Solyman, finding it impossible to take advantage of an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Constantinople, and Charles, freed from so dangerous an invader, set out for Spain. During his absence new disturbances arose in Germany from the Anabaptists.

In 1535 Charles undertook his first expedition against the piratical states of Africa. Barbary, or that part of the African continent which lies along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, was then nearly, with the exception of the recent French conquests, in the same condition it is at present. Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis were its principal governments, and the two last were nests of pirates. Barbarossa, a famous corsair, had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers. He carried on his piracies with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Christian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkish emperor. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and charmed with the boldness of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to

Constantinople, and made use of his influence with the Sultan, to extend his own dominion. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he usurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now possessed of greater power, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever. Daily complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by Barbarossa were brought to the emperor from Spain and Italy, and all Christendom seemed to look up to Charles, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, for relief from this new and odious species of oppression.

At the same time, Muley Hassen, the exiled King of Tunis, applied to him for assistance against the usurper. Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of protecting an unfortunate prince, and of acquiring the glory annexed to an expedition against the Mohammedans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley Hassen, and set sail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a strong fortress on an island in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with 300 pieces of cannon, was taken by storm, together with the entire fleet of Barbarossa. He himself was defeated in a pitched battle: and 10,000 Christian slaves having knocked off their fetters, and made themselves masters of the citadel, Tunis surrendered to the victor. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preserving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops broke suddenly into the town, and pillaged and massacred without distinction. 30,000 perished by the sword, and 10,000 were made prisoners. The sceptre, drenched in blood, was restored to Muley Hassen, on condition he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified seaports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually 12,000 crowns for the subsistence of a Spanish garrison in the Goletta. These points being settled, and 20,000 Christian slaves freed from bondage, Charles returned to Europe; while Barbarossa, who had retired to Bona, recovered new strength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean.

This same year (1535) Francis I., though unsupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance towards the frontiers of Italy, under pretence of chastising the Duke of Milan, for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambassador. The operations of the war, however, soon took a new turn. Instead of marching to Milan, Francis com-

menced hostilities against the Duke of Savoy, on whom he had some claims; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince saw himself stripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, threw off his yoke, and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an imperial city, and now became the nest of heresy, and the capital of an independent republic.

The Duke of Savoy sought the emperor's protection, but Charles, just returned from his African expedition, was not able to afford him the necessary support. His treasury was drained, and he was obliged to disband his army until he could raise new supplies.

Meanwhile the death of Sforza, Duke of Milan, totally changed the nature of the war. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off: but as the duke had died without issue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his descendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim; but while he wasted his time in fruitless negotiations, his more politic rival took possession of the long-disputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire.

1536.—While Charles was recruiting his finances and his army, Francis continued his negotiations, as if it had still been possible to terminate their differences amicably. The emperor having now collected an army of 50,000 men, presumed on nothing less than the overthrow of the French monarchy. Having driven the forces of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he pushed forward, contrary to the advice of his generals, to invade the southern provinces of France, while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom: the one on the side of Picardy, the other on that of Champagne. The French monarch wisely determined to remain altogether upon the defensive, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence, by laying waste the country before him. The execution of this plan was committed to the Maréchal de Montmorenci, its author. He made choice of a strong camp under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and Durance, where he assembled a considerable army; while the king encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marseilles and Arles were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend; the inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations: the fortifications thrown down: corn, forage, and all

provisions carried off or destroyed. This devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the confines of Dauphiné : so that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the confines of Provence, beheld nothing but one vast and desert solitude. After unsuccessfully investing Marseilles and Arles ; after attempting in vain to draw Montmorenci from his camp at Avignon, Charles was under the necessity of retreating as fast as possible, having spent two inglorious months in Provence, and lost half his troops by famine or disease.

The invasion of Picardy was not more effectual, and Charles, having conducted the remains of his army back to Milan, set out for Genoa, and embarked immediately for Spain.

1537.—Francis now gave himself up to vain resentment. The dauphin dying suddenly, his death was imputed to poison. Montecuculli, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack, and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accused the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and De Leyva, of instigating him to the detestable act. The emperor himself was suspected, though it was evident to all mankind that neither Charles nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons besides the dauphin. In the height of his resentment, Francis accused Charles of violating the treaty of Cambray, and marched an army into the Low Countries ; but a suspension of arms took place through the interposition of the Queens of France and Hungary ; and this cessation of hostilities was followed by a truce, concluded at Nice in 1538, through the mediation of the reigning Pontiff, Paul III., of the family of Farnese, a man of a venerable character and pacific disposition.

Each of these rival princes had strong reasons to desire peace. The finances of both were exhausted, and the emperor was deeply impressed with the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by a league with Solymán. In consequence of this league, Barbarossa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coast of Naples, filled that kingdom with consternation, landed near Tarento, obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender, and plundered the adjacent country ; but the unexpected arrival of Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, together with the Pope's galleys and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. The Sultan's forces also invaded Hungary, where the Turkish

general, after gaining several inferior advantages, defeated the Germans, in a great battle at Essek on the Drave. Francis on the other hand, feared to draw on his head the indignation of all Christendom by the league he had made with the infidels; still the Pope found it impossible to bring about a final accommodation between them, nor could he prevail on them to see one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous. Yet, a few days after signing the truce, the emperor, in his passage to Barcelona, being driven on the coast of Provence, Francis invited him to come on shore, and he was received and entertained with the warmest demonstrations of esteem and affection. The next day the emperor paid the king a visit at Aigues-Mortes, where these two hostile rivals, who had accused each other of every kind of baseness, conversed together with all the cordiality of brothers. Such sudden transitions from enmity to affection, can only be accounted for by that spirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were strongly tinctured.

In the following year (1539) the citizens of Ghent revolted from the emperor, and offered the King of France to put him in possession of their city. Francis had lived in friendship with the emperor ever since their interview at Aigues-Mortes; forgetting therefore all that had passed, the credulous, but generous Francis, not only rejected the advantageous offer of the rebels, but communicated the whole affair to the emperor, and allowed him a free passage through France to go and quell the rebellion. The emperor was met by the dauphin and Duke of Orleans, who attended him all the way, and was entertained at Paris with the utmost magnificence.

1540.—The citizens of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands by three armies, submitted at discretion, but were punished by him with exemplary severity.

1541.—The emperor this year was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. A diet was assembled at Ratisbon; here the emperor decreed, that till a general council could be held, all parties should be left at liberty; that no innovations should be made, nor any means employed to gain proselytes. This edict equally dissatisfied all parties; and the emperor thought the posture of his affairs required he should make greater concessions in favour of the Protestants.

In 1541, Solyman (whose protection had been implored for the infant King of Hungary, against Ferdinand, King of the Romans) entered Hungary, sent the queen and her son into

Transylvania, which province he allotted them, and added Hungary to the Ottoman empire. In consequence of the concessions made to the Protestants, Charles obtained such liberal supplies of men and money, as left him little anxiety about Germany. He therefore hastened to join his fleet and army in Italy, in order to execute his grand design against Algiers. Algiers, since the taking of Tunis, was become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corsairs. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by their galleys, and such frequent alarms were given to the coast of Spain, that there was a necessity of erecting watch-towers, to descry the approach of the enemy's squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians with which they were manned.

But this enterprise, on which the emperor had built the highest hopes, proved the most unfortunate of his reign. His fleet was dispersed by a storm, as soon as he had landed in Barbary, and Charles was glad to re-embark, after having lost the greater part of his army by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the sword of the enemy. But if he failed to acquire that glory which attends success, he secured that which is more essentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amidst his misfortunes. His firmness and constancy of spirit, his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity, and compassion, were eminently conspicuous. He endured as severe hardships as the meanest soldier; he visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example. He paid dearly for his rash enterprise, but he made mankind sensible that he possessed many valuable qualities, which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of displaying.

1542.—Two ambassadors of Francis I., the one to the Ottoman Porte, the other to the republic of Venice, having been murdered as they were sailing down the Po, Francis demanded reparation of the emperor, who returned him only an evasive answer. Francis then appealed to all the courts of Europe, and renewed his treaty with Solyman: this step drew upon him the indignation of Christendom. But his activity supplied all the defects in his negotiation. Five armies were soon ready to take the field, and with different destinations: nor was Charles wanting in his preparations. The battle of Cerisoles ensued, gained by Count d'Englihen over the imperialists, and in which 10,000 of the emperor's best troops fell. In fine, after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the

Low Countries, had been alternately, or at once, the scene of war; after the Turkish fleet, under Barbarossa, had ravaged the coasts of Italy, and the lilies of France and the crescent of Mahomet had appeared in conjunction before Nice, where the cross of Savoy was displayed—Francis and Charles mutually tired of harassing each other, concluded, at Crespy a treaty of peace, in 1544.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, FROM 1542 TO 1556.

HENRY VIII. declared war against his nephew, James V of Scotland, in 1542, because that prince had refused to throw off the jurisdiction of the Pope. James being unsuccessful, was so afflicted, both for his losses and the miseries he saw hanging over his kingdom, that he died the same year, soon after the birth of his daughter, Mary Stuart.

Henry VIII. continued till his death the tyrannic persecutor of his subjects. Catholics and Lutherans he burned in the same pile, without distinction and without mercy; those for not acknowledging his spiritual supremacy, these for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. Among the Catholic sufferers, were Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury and mother of Cardinal Pole, thirteen abbots and priors, about seventy-seven religious, and many of the laity, who were all put to death for denying the king's supremacy. The Duke of Norfolk, who had recently quelled a rebellion in the north, and his son, the Earl of Surrey, were the last victims marked out for destruction. The earl was executed January 19th, 1547, but the duke escaped by the king's death, which happened the same month, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. He had made his will a few weeks before his demise, in which he left his crown, first to Prince Edward, then to the Princess Mary, and lastly to Princess Elizabeth, his daughter by Anna Bullen.

1547.—Edward VI. being only nine years old at the time of his father's death, the government was committed to sixteen executors, among whom were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the great officers of state. They chose one of their number, namely, the Earl of Hertford, maternal uncle of the king, instantly created Duke of Somerset, to represent

the royal majesty under the title of Protector. This nobleman soon rendered himself independent of his colleagues. He had been long a secret friend to the reformation, and was a Zuinglian in his heart. Being now invested with sovereign power, and having but little opposition to fear from the nation at large, he openly avowed his principles, and resolved to act up to them. Till then no public change in the forms of divine worship, or in the articles of religious belief had been enacted. But during the protectorship of Somerset, a new liturgy was framed, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was overthrown, and the penal statutes which had been enacted against heretics during the last reign, were repealed.

In the mean time, the democratic principles of Calvin, which had found their way into Scotland, roused the people to revolt against the established government both of church and state. One of their party having suffered at the stake for heresy, some of his disciples formed a conspiracy against the primate, Cardinal Beaton, whom they cruelly murdered in his own palace.

Somerset had not lost sight of the projected marriage between Edward and the young Queen of Scotland. To oblige the nation to accede to this measure, he appeared on the frontiers at the head of 18,000 men; but his proposals being rejected, and an army sent to oppose him, they came to an engagement near the village of Pinkey, (four miles distant from Edinburgh,) in which the Scots were routed with great slaughter. This victory, however, was of no real utility to England, as it induced the Scots, alarmed for the safety of their young queen, to send her to France, where she was soon after affianced to the dauphin.

Several disturbances arose in England at this time, excited by the discontent, which the oppressions and rapacious acts of the ministry had occasioned. The rebels, however, were soon dispersed and their leader hanged; but the majority of the people beheld with grief their churches plundered, and their ancient religion abolished. The Scots, taking advantage of the internal troubles of the kingdom, obliged the English to evacuate Haddington; and the King of France seized the opportunity of recovering, with the exception of Boulogne, all the conquests which Henry had made on the continent. Somerset, embarrassed on every side, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland, but he found that he no longer possessed his wonted influence in the council. A powerful faction was formed against him, at the head of which

was the Earl of Warwick; and the protector was compelled to resign his office in 1549. Warwick succeeded to his power, though not to his title, and immediately negotiated a peace with France; and as Henry II. refused to pay to England the arrears which were due to her by former stipulations, but offered a large sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, a treaty was concluded on these terms, in 1550, in which Scotland was comprehended. Warwick, lately created Duke of Northumberland, though now raised to the summit of his ambition, still found in the degraded Somerset the disturber of his repose; by various provocations he excited him to imprudent schemes, and afterwards accused him of high treason for seeming to acquiesce in them. Somerset was, in consequence, tried, condemned, and executed in 1552. Some time after, Northumberland persuaded the king, who was now in a deep decline, to alter the succession in favour of his cousin, Lady Jane Grey, who had lately been married to Lord Guilford Dudley, the duke's fourth son. After this measure Edward's health visibly declined, and he died on the 6th of July, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age and the seventh of his reign. The traitorous Northumberland immediately sent to secure the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, but failed in his attempt. Mary was within half a day's journey of London, when she received private intelligence from the Earl of Arundel of her brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against her. She retreated into Norfolk, while the duke caused Lady Jane to be proclaimed queen. But the dissatisfaction with which this proclamation was received, soon convinced him that military force was necessary to carry his point; he therefore resolved on civil war, and marched an army into Suffolk. Mary, in the mean time, had been very active in rousing the loyalty of her subjects into action. The followers of her standard amounted to twice the number of the rebel forces. The duke, who had advanced as far as Edmondsbury, finding his cause hopeless, laid down his arms, proclaimed Mary Queen of England, and resigned himself to her royal clemency. But his guilt was of too deep a dye to be effaced by any submissions, and his character made it unsafe for any government to pardon such an offender. Before he was executed, he openly confessed his belief of the Catholic faith, to which he exhorted all present to return, as well as to their obedience to their lawful sovereign. Two others suffered death with him, and eight more were condemned. Among these were Lady Jane and Lord Guilford Dudley,

whose execution was put off and probably never would have ensued, had not a subsequent rebellion made it seem necessary for the queen's safety and the tranquillity of the state. A general pardon followed these acts of justice: the queen remitted the subsidy, which had been granted to her brother, and no sovereign seems to have ascended the throne with more universal satisfaction. She was solemnly crowned at Westminster on the 1st of October, and shortly after the Parliament met by summons. They began the session by some popular acts; they next proceeded to declare the validity of King Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, stigmatized Cranmer's conduct for pronouncing the sentence of divorce, and annulled every public act that had been passed in consequence of it. All statutes made in the last reign against the Catholic religion were repealed, and the form of divine worship was restored to the state in which Henry left it. Bishop Bonner was reinstated in the see of London, and orders were issued to use the Roman ritual throughout the whole kingdom. One of the objects the queen had in view was to strengthen her authority by a suitable marriage, and several persons were proposed to her by her ministers. She had already consulted the Emperor Charles V. on the subject, who recommended his son Philip. The proposition was accepted, and the articles of the marriage which were agreed upon, seemed so evidently to favour the interests of England, that both houses of Parliament approved them, by every expression that could denote a sense of the advantages which accrued to the queen and the realm.

The re-establishing of the ancient worship, though enacted by the whole legislative authority, united to the nation's prejudices against the queen's marriage with a foreigner, gave occasion to a rebellion, which, failing of success, only strengthened that government it was designed to overthrow. An insurrection in Devon was attempted by Sir Peter Carew, in 1554, but he was arrested at Exeter, whence he escaped to France. Sir Thomas Wyatt collected a body of 6,000 men in Kent, with which he marched to London; but finding the citizens firm in their allegiance to the queen, he took up a position in front of the royal army which lay entrenched near St. James's. Eager to engage, Wyatt rashly attempted to force their entrenchments; but he was repulsed, his forces routed, and himself taken prisoner. The Duke of Suffolk, who commanded another party of rebels in the interior of the kingdom, was defeated about the same time, and

conveyed to the Tower. In levying war against their lawful sovereign, the views of these two rebels were different, their crime the same. The duke's ambition was to raise his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, to the throne; and his guilt caused her to experience a severity, which all the personal merit that pleaded in her favour could not avert. She and her husband were beheaded on the 12th of February, 1554.

Wyatt wrote a letter to the queen from the Tower, in which he revealed the whole plot of the conspirators, and frankly owned their intentions of placing the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. He also accused Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, as being as deeply concerned in the plot as himself. The princess was not ignorant of their plan: for the security of the public tranquillity she was therefore conveyed to Woodstock, where she was kept in custody for some months, while Courtenay was sent to Fotheringay Castle. Though no overt act of treason had been committed by them, sufficient was proved against them to justify their commitment.

The emperor, thinking it beneath the dignity of Mary to marry one below the rank of king, resigned to his son the crown of Naples, with the duchy of Milan. Philip arrived in England on the 19th of July, and was married to the queen on the 25th.

The object which Mary had most at heart since her accession to the throne, was the reunion of her subjects with the see of Rome: Pope Julius III. had, at her request, nominated Cardinal Pole his apostolic legate for that purpose. The cardinal arrived in England, November 20th: eight days after, by the unanimous consent of both houses of Parliament, the nation, in the person of its representatives, was solemnly absolved from spiritual censures by the legate, in the House of Lords, and reconciled to the church. The clergy received a more special absolution on the following Thursday.

To prevent the opposition which was expected from the occupiers of church lands, the legate, by virtue of the power he had received for this purpose from the sovereign Pontiff, confirmed them to the lay possessors, with the consent of those who had been dispossessed. The legislature confirmed the same. But the queen had the generosity to give up all that share of the spoils which had been annexed to the crown, including the tenths and first-fruits, amounting to £63,000, altogether about a million and a half of our present money. These last were restored to the clergy of the English church, and not to the Pope, to whom they were originally paid. On

the authority of Fra Paolo,* some of our historians assert that Paul IV., the successor of Julius, expressed his displeasure to the queen at the church lands not having been restored; but the journal of the House of Commons, Cardinal Pole's letters, and the testimony of Dr. Heylin, Camden, &c., supply authentic information to the contrary.

The several rebellions we have mentioned, and many subsequent outrages the queen endured from her Protestant subjects, out of hatred to her religion, were deemed by her council a sufficient motive for reviving the penal statutes which had been enacted against heretics during the reign of Richard II. and the two succeeding Henrys. In consequence of the revival of these statutes, many persons were taken up, some for treason, and others for heresy. They had a fair trial; many were legally convicted and executed, as the law directed, but not in such numbers† nor with such aggravating circumstances of cruelty as Mr. Hume represents upon the authority of John Fox, the Protestant martyrologist.‡

Most of these unhappy persons suffered in the diocese of London, of which Bonner was bishop, who is represented as the chief actor in that deplorable transaction; and London being the capital, was likewise the theatre where the delinquents were chiefly to make their appearance. The most noted among the sufferers were the five Protestant bishops, Cranmer, Hooper, Ridley, Farrar, and Latimer. Archbishop Cranmer had been confined in the Tower since the suppression of the rebellion in favour of Lady Jane Grey, in which he had taken an active part. He was then attainted of high treason, and his revenues sequestered. Two years after-

* Fra Paolo was an apostate monk of Venice, in which town he was born, in 1552. His disobedience to the Pope drew upon him a sentence of excommunication in 1606. After many endeavours to introduce into his country the errors of the Genevans, he died out of the communion of the church in 1623.

† Heylin, *Hist. Reformation*, p. 226.

‡ J. Fox relates that 227 persons suffered death by fire during this reign; but the account having been very accurately examined by the learned F. Parsons, who lived very near that time, was shown to be much exaggerated, with respect to the number and cause of the sufferers, which made an eminent divine of the church of England observe, (*Ath. Oxon.* v. 1, page 231,) that "where he produces records, he may be credited, but as to other relations he is of very slender authority." After minute inquiry, not more than thirteen are found to have suffered throughout England, besides those who were executed in Smithfield. See *Phil. Life of Cardinal Pole*, vol. 2, p. 216.

wards, he was tried by a spiritual court of delegates nominated by the Pope, and being convicted of obstinate heresy was degraded and delivered over to the civil power, which condemned him to death by fire. In the hope of having his life spared, he retracted his errors ; but finding his death inevitable, he repeated his former profession of faith at the place of execution. He suffered on the first of March, 1556. The queen nominated Cardinal Pole to succeed him in the see of Canterbury, and the Pope approved of her majesty's choice.

CHAPTER VI.

EUROPE, FROM THE FIRST MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, IN 1546, TO THE PEACE OF CHATEAU CAMBRESIS, IN 1559.

1546.—In consequence of the resolution of the Emperor Charles V. to humble the Protestant princes, which had been his principal motive in concluding a disadvantageous peace with Francis I., at Crespy, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople and concluded a dishonourable truce with Solyman. He stipulated that his brother Ferdinand should pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which still acknowledged his sway, and that the sultan should retain the undisputed possession of the other. Charles, at the same time, entered into an alliance with Paul III., the reigning Pontiff, for the extirpation of heresy. Meanwhile a general council had been assembled at Trent, by the authority of the Pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion ; but the Protestants, though they had appealed to a general council, refused to acknowledge the legality of this, or to submit to its decrees.

In the mean time the death of Luther threw the German Protestants into much consternation, but did not suspend their preparations for war. In a few weeks they assembled an army of 70,000 foot and 1500 horse ; though several of the Protestant princes, overawed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral ; while others, allured by the prospect of advantage, had voluntarily engaged in his service. Among the latter, Maurice, Marquis of Thuringia and Misnia, of the house of Saxony, entered one part of the territories of Frederick, Elector of Saxony, at the head of 12,000 men, while Ferdinand, with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians

overran the other. The elector, upon receiving the news that Maurice had made himself master of all the electoral dominions, except Wittenberg, Gotha, and Eisenack, returned home with his troops, and thus divided the army of the confederates. Ulm, at the same time, submitted to the emperor, and the other cities and princes followed this example. Thus this confederacy, lately so powerful, fell to pieces, scarcely any of the associates now remaining in arms, except the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse.

1547.—The death of Francis I., while he was forming new schemes against the emperor, encouraged this prince to act with vigour in Germany, more especially as he thought he had nothing to fear for some time from the negotiations or personal efforts of the young monarch, Henry II. Charles marched into Saxony, at the head of 16,000 veterans, attacked the main body of the elector's forces at Mulhausen, near Mulberg, defeated them, and took the elector prisoner. He then marched towards Wittenberg, the capital in that age of the electoral branch of the Saxon family. Sybilla of Cleves, the elector's wife, animated the citizens to a vigorous defence; but understanding that her husband was made prisoner, and that his life might probably pay for her resistance, she submitted to the conqueror's terms. The elector agreed to resign his electoral dignity and put the imperial troops in possession of his capital: in return, the emperor promised not only to spare his life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territories, with a revenue of 50,000 florins. The Saxon electorate was instantly bestowed upon Maurice. The emperor, having humbled the Germans, summoned a diet to meet him at Augsburg, in order to compose finally the controversies with regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the empire.

1548.—Here he published his famous *Interim*, which pleased neither party: the Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much. The emperor, however, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into execution, and stripped Ulm and Augsburg of their privileges on account of their opposition. This example made many other cities feign compliance. In 1549 died Paul III., and in 1550 he was succeeded in the papacy by the Cardinal de Monti, who took the name of Julius III.

1550.—Charles continued to carry all before him in Germany, till he attempted to transmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain and his dominions in the Low Countries,

to his son Philip. He had formerly assisted his brother Ferdinand in obtaining the dignity of King of the Romans: he now hoped to prevail on the electors to cancel that choice, or, at least, to elect Philip a second King of the Romans, substituting him as next in succession to his uncle; but all the electors concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to relinquish the design. The war of Parma, where the French took the field as allies of Octavio Farnese, Duke of Parma, and the Imperialists, as the protectors of the Holy See, was distinguished by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occasioned in Italy prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent, at the time appointed for the reassembling of the council. The war continued in Germany till the middle of the following year: the Protestants being headed by Maurice, whom Charles had made Elector of Saxony, and receiving great succours from Henry II. of France. In July, 1552, the elector, after great success, repaired to Passau, and concluded a peace on these conditions: that the confederates should lay down their arms; that the Landgrave of Hesse should be set at liberty; that a diet should be held within six months to settle the affairs of religion; that, in the mean time, no injury or impediment should be offered to either party; that the imperial chamber should administer justice impartially to both parties; and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Catholics, to sit as judges in that court. Thus, by the peace of Passau, was Protestantism established in Germany. Henry II. experienced, in this treaty, what every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect. His services were forgotten, and his associates made a merit with their sovereign, of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The peace of Passau was no sooner signed, than Maurice, who was considered by the Protestants as the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary against the Turks, at the head of 20,000 men, in consequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of such assistance had made an advocate of the confederates. But the vast superiority of the Turkish armies, together with the dissensions between Maurice and Castaldo, the Austrian general, who was piqued at being superseded in the command, prevented the elector from doing any thing of consequence. In the mean time, Charles V., concerned at the loss of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, of which Henry II. had made himself master, and which, till then, had

formed the barrier of the empire on the side of France, determined to recover the three bishoprics. Henry, on his side, resolved to defend his conquests with vigour. Charles first laid siege to Metz, which was defended by Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise. But after losing 30,000 men before the place, he was obliged to abandon the enterprise. This was not the only contradiction the emperor received: the inhabitants of Sienna revolted from him and put themselves under the protection of the French; after which a Turkish fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, and after plundering and burning several places on the coast of Calabria, filled Naples itself with consternation.

1553.—An obstinate battle was fought at Siverhausen, in the duchy of Lunenburg, between Albert of Brandenburg, and Maurice, Elector of Saxony. After a long and desperate fight, Albert's army fled, but Maurice received a wound, of which he died two days after. As he left only one daughter, afterwards married to the famous William, Prince of Orange, Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, but the states declared in favour of Augustus, Maurice's brother, whose descendants still possess the electoral dominions.

During these transactions in Germany, the war was prosecuted in the Low Countries with considerable vigour. Charles laid siege to Terouane, and that important place was carried by assault. Hesden was also invested, and carried in the same manner. The imperial arms were less successful in Italy. The Viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Sienna, and the French not only established themselves firmly in Tuscany, but conquered part of Corsica; while Castaldo, the imperial general, was obliged to abandon Transylvania to the Turks.

In the following year, (1554,) the war continued between Charles and Henry, with various success in the Low Countries, and in Italy to the disadvantage of the French, who were defeated in the battle of Marciano, and lost Sienna, after a siege of ten months. In the mean time, Germany was occupied with the famous recess of Augsburg, which established Protestantism on the footing it has ever since held: though Cardinal Caraffa, who was now raised to the papal throne under the name of Paul IV., protested loudly against the indulgence given to the Protestants.

1555.—An event happened this year which astonished all Europe. The Emperor Charles, though no more than fifty-six years of age, an age when objects of ambition operate

with full force on the mind, and are generally pursued with the greatest ardour, resolved to resign all his hereditary dominions to his son Philip. Sated with the vanity of human greatness, he determined to seek, in the tranquillity of retirement, that happiness which he had in vain pursued amid the tumults of war and the intrigues of state. In consequence of this resolution, Charles assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, and seating himself, for the last time, in the chair of state, he explained to his subjects the motives of his resignation, and solemnly devolved his authority upon Philip. He recounted with dignity, but without ostentation, all the great things which he had undertaken and performed since the commencement of his administration; and that enumeration gives us the highest idea of his activity and industry. "I have dedicated," said he, "from the seventeenth year of my age, all my thoughts and attention to public objects, reserving no portion of my time for the indulgence of ease; and very little for the enjoyment of private pleasure. Either in a pacific or hostile manner, I have visited Germany nine times, Spain six times, France four times, Italy seven times, the Low Countries ten times, England twice, Africa as often; and while my health permitted me to discharge the duties of a sovereign, and the vigour of my constitution was equal, in any degree, to the arduous task of governing such extensive dominions, I never shunned labour, nor repined under fatigue, but now, when my health is broken, and my vigour exhausted by the rage of an incurable distemper, my growing infirmities admonish me to retire; nor am I so fond of reigning as to retain the sceptre in an impotent hand, which is no longer able to protect my subjects. Instead of a sovereign worn out with disease, I give you one in the prime of life, already accustomed to govern, and who adds, to the vigour of youth, all the attention and sagacity of maturer years."

Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kissed his father's hand, "It is in your power," said Charles, "by a wise and virtuous administration, to justify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my paternal affection, and to demonstrate that you are worthy of the confidence which I repose in you. Preserve," added he, "an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country be sacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights of your people; and if the time should ever come, when you should wish to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son to whom you

can resign your sceptre, with as much satisfaction as I give up mine to you." A few weeks after, the emperor resigned to Philip the Spanish crown, with all the dominions depending upon it, both in the old and new world; reserving nothing to himself but an annual pension, and retired into Spain.

1556.—This year was chiefly occupied in negotiations between King Philip II., Henry II., and Pope Paul IV. In the following year, Philip determined to act with such vigour, as should convince all Europe, that his father had not erred in resigning to him the reins of government. Finding that Henry had violated the truce, he assembled in the Low Countries a body of 50,000 men; he obtained 10,000 from England, and gave the command of this army to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, one of the greatest generals of his age. The duke advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid siege to St. Quintin, then deemed a place of considerable strength. The Constable Montmorenci hastened to its relief; but his army was cut to pieces, himself made prisoner, and the town, after being long and gallantly defended by Coligny, was taken by storm. Philip next reduced Horn and Catelet, which, with St. Quintin, were the sole fruits of one of the most decisive victories gained in the sixteenth century. The Catholic king vowed to build a church, a monastery, and a palace, in honour of St. Lawrence, on whose feast the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. The same principle that dictated the vow, directed the construction of the fabric. It was so formed as to resemble a gridiron, on which the saint had suffered martyrdom. Such is the origin of the famous Escorial, near Madrid, the royal residence of the Kings of Spain. In 1558, the Duke of Guise, taking advantage of the defenceless state of Calais, the garrison of which amounted only to 500 men, made himself master of it, an offer from Philip to reinforce it having been rejected by the Queen of England's ministers. This town and its adjacent territory had been in the possession of the English upwards of 200 years, and as it opened to them an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable foreign possession belonging to the crown. The English were highly enraged at this loss; they murmured loudly against the queen and her council, who, after engaging the nation in a ruinous war, had exposed it, by their negligence, to so severe a disgrace. This event, with her subjects' ill conduct towards her, and the concerns of religion, so affected Mary, that she fell into a slow fever, which put an end to her short and turbulent reign of

five years. "When I am dead," said she to her attendants, "you will find the word Calais engraven on my heart." Cardinal Pole died the next morning, aged 58.

The Princess Elizabeth was in Hertfordshire, when news was brought to her of her sister's death. She hastened immediately to London, where she met with a very flattering reception. At her accession she found the kingdom divided into two parties; one for the old, the other for the new religion. Her first steps were calculated to inspire the Catholics with a hope that she would remain in the communion of that church, the rights and liberties of which she solemnly promised to maintain in her coronation oath, which she took, according to the ancient form, on the 14th of January, 1559. But the friends of the reformation, who had endeavoured by force to place her upon her sister's throne, were well acquainted with the real sentiments of her heart; and with some of these she devised measures for re-establishing the Protestant religion. A Parliament devoted to her will assembled on the 25th of January.

Their first session declared Queen Elizabeth true and lawful heir to the crown of England, though it passed no act for the validity of her mother's marriage, on which her title principally depended. A bill was brought in for suppressing the monasteries, which Mary had re-established. It passed with little opposition, and was followed by another for annexing supremacy to the crown. This act was vigorously opposed in both houses of Parliament, yet it was carried by a decided majority, and Elizabeth was declared supreme head on earth of the church of England.

The primary cause of the queen's quarrel with the Holy See, has by some been attributed to the cool reception her ambassador met with at Rome, and the rude reproach she received from Paul IV., for having assumed the crown under a doubtful title. This Pope, though possessed of many good qualities, was unfortunately of a very austere and haughty disposition, and old age, and his late quarrel with Spain had rather increased than mollified the asperity of his temper. Elizabeth was far from entertaining in private any aversion to the Catholic religion. It was chiefly owing to her partiality for the hierarchy, and for many points of the ancient faith and discipline, that the church of England has departed less from the ancient church, than any other sect of Protestants. She was known, in private conversation, to ridicule her own spiritual supremacy and to acknowledge that of the Pope; she

even intimated a wish,* if circumstances would permit it, to follow the original faith; but as ambition was, among all her strong passions, the most violent, and as the counsellors to whom she referred the question of religion convinced her that it was for her temporal interest to cast off the Pope's jurisdiction and to suppress the ancient religion, she took her measures accordingly, and became in the end one of the most violent persecutors of Catholics upon record. Her dissimulation, cruelty, and profligacy of manners were only inferior to her ambition; and as it was not to be expected that the court would be more virtuous than the queen, it is described by an eyewitness and member of it as a scene of all enormities, where wickedness reigned in the highest degree.† This is particularly applicable to the three most distinguished members of her ministry, namely, Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, the chief promoter of the civil wars among the subjects of foreign princes and of the persecutions raised at home; and, lastly, Sir Francis Walsingham, the more immediate agent in those murderous acts of assassination and horrid forgeries which Elizabeth's ministers employed to shorten the life of the Queen of Scots, and also of her son, James I.‡

After passing the Supremacy Act, Parliament proceeded to abolish the mass, and to revive the form of divine worship which had been framed in Edward's reign. The aversion which the bishops and many of the clergy evinced for this change, made the government resolve to put them to the test, by tendering to them the oath of supremacy. Out of fifteen bishops who remained in the kingdom, only one consented to take it; the others were deprived of their sees, and put under an arrest. Great numbers of the more eminent clergy went abroad; the major part of the parochial clergy conformed against the conviction of conscience, as Echard writes. In order to extirpate the Catholic religion, a variety of penal statutes were enacted, by which the exercise of that religion was forbidden, under pain of forfeitures, imprisonments, and death. This system of persecution was kept up with unrelenting severity during the whole reign of Elizabeth. It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of those who suffered

* See all the authorities quoted by Dr. Milner in his "Letters to a Prebendary," L. 6, p. 194.

† Viz., Sir Nicholas Taunt, under secretary to Walsingham. Birch's Mem. Eliz., vol. 1. History of England, by Bevil Higgons, p. 234

‡ See Whittaker's Vindication of Mary, Queen of Scots.

loss of estates, banishment, imprisonment, tortures, and death during this period.* These punishments were arbitrarily inflicted by a Court of Commission, consisting of forty-four members, whose jurisdiction extended over the whole kingdom, and whose power was unlimited.

The Protestant religion was hardly established in England, when a schism was formed in its bosom, which seemed to threaten its destruction. The emigrants, whom the queen had recalled in the beginning of her reign, had returned, strongly imbued with the puritanical principles of Zuinglius and Calvin. To compromise, if possible, the jarring tenets which set the Protestant sects at variance, a convocation met in 1562. The famous thirty-nine articles were then agreed upon, approved by the queen, published, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament. From this digression we must return to the affairs of the continent, at the date of Elizabeth's accession.

1558.—After the reduction of Calais, the Duke of Guise invested Thionville, in the Duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontiers of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate: but the French meeting with less success in other parts, the Duke of Guise was compelled to relinquish his schemes and hasten to the frontiers of Picardy. The Spanish and Flemish army, under the Duke of Savoy and the French under the Duke of Guise, both 40,000 strong were now encamped within a few leagues of each other: peace began to be mentioned in each camp. Henry and Philip were equally desirous of it, and the Abbey of Cercamp was fixed upon as the place of congress.

While Henry and Philip were making these advances towards a treaty, which restored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. ended his days in the monastery of St. Justus, in Estramadura, having lived in his solitude on a plan that would have suited a gentleman of moderate fortune. He sometimes admitted a few gentlemen to visit him and entertained them as equals, or he employed himself in study and in framing curious works of mechanism: but he always set apart a considerable portion of his time for religious exercises, and regularly attended divine service in the church of the monastery. To prepare himself more immediately for death, he formed the singular resolution of celebrating his own obsequies. His tomb was ac-

* See the "Memoirs of Missionary Priests," by the Right Rev Richard Challoner.

cordingly erected in the chapel of the monastery ; his attendants walked thither in funeral procession, Charles followed them in his shroud ; being laid in his coffin, the burial service was chanted over him, he himself joining in the prayers that were offered for the repose of his soul, and mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed. The fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the awful sentiments which it inspired, threw him into a fever, of which he died, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprises speak his most eloquent panegyric, and his history forms his highest character. His abilities as a statesman and as a general were of the first class, but his ambition frustrated the chief end of government—the happiness of the nations committed to his care.

Philip II., unwilling to lose his connexion with England, warmly espoused the interests of Elizabeth in the conference of Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambresis, whither they were removed ; and insisted that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth should be concluded in form before that between France and Spain. By this treaty it was stipulated that the King of France should retain possession of Calais during eight years, at the end of which term he should restore it to England or pay 500,000 crowns ; but as the force of this stipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preserving inviolate, during that period, the peace with France and Scotland, all men of discernment saw it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais, and palliating what could not be prevented. The principal articles of peace between France and Spain were, that all conquests on this side the Alps since 1551 should be mutually restored ; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the county of Bresse, and other territories, formerly subject to the Dukes of Savoy, should be restored to Emanuel Philibert upon his marriage with Margaret of France ; that the French king should evacuate the places he held in Tuscany and Sienna, receive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns he had taken in Corsica ; but he was allowed to keep Metz, Toul, and Verdun. All past transactions either of princes or subjects were to be buried in oblivion. Thus was peace again established in Europe, almost every prince and state in Christendom being comprehended in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, as allies either of Henry or Philip. Among these contracting powers were included the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland.

1559.—Meantime, Henry II. having been killed in a tournament, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the

Duke of Savoy, his son, Francis II., a weak prince and under age, already married to the Queen of Scots, succeeded to the crown of France. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his pontificate, and thus the personages who had so long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared at the same time.

As this period forms an era in history, it is a proper place to mention some of the persons most eminent for learning who flourished during the sixteenth century, and the religious institutions which were then established. The celebrated Erasmus was born at Rotterdam, in 1467. If we consider him as a genius and a scholar, envy itself must own he holds a rank to which very few have ever attained. His industry could only be surpassed by the ease with which the most various and difficult attainments became familiar to him. But as a Christian, he was a disgrace to the clergy to which he belonged; there having been scarcely any error advanced against the Catholic religion, which he professed, that he has not revived, or any tenet of belief or practice which he has not oppugned, either by profane sneers or sophistry. He resided a long time in England during the reign of Henry VIII. He died a Catholic, in 1536.

St. Ignatius Loyola founded the celebrated order of the Society of Jesus, about the same time that Martin Luther was disseminating his doctrine in Germany. The first fathers of this religious order were remarkably learned; and two of them assisted at the council of Trent as the Pope's divines. The order was confirmed by Paul III., in 1540, and its founder lived to see it spread almost over the whole world, and divided into twelve provinces, which contained at least a hundred colleges. A few years before his death, St. Francis Xavier, the most celebrated of his disciples, terminated a life, which had been an object of admiration, not only to the Catholic church, but to those who are estranged from her tenets. After having enlightened the empire of Japan, and several other kingdoms of the East, with the gospel, he died in the Island of Sanciano, as he was preparing to communicate that blessing to China, in 1552.

In the reign of Elizabeth, when Catholic parents were debarred from bestowing any education on their children at home, Dr. William Allen, afterwards cardinal, formed the design of establishing English colleges on the continent for the education of youth. By the help of charitable contributions, an establishment for that purpose was opened at Douay, which

then formed a part of the Spanish Netherlands. During the troubles in that country, it removed to Rheims, in 1578, but returned to Douay in 1593, and continued to be a flourishing college till the revolution in France, at the close of the eighteenth century. St. Francis of Sales, Bishop of Geneva, was born in 1567, and seemed destined by Providence to repair the ravages which heresy had made in Savoy. His zeal in the conversion of Zuinglians and Calvinists was attended by the most surprising success, and he had the happiness to bring back seventy-two thousand to the bosom of the Catholic church. Having instructed the faithful by his writings, edified them by the admirable example of his virtues, and instituted the holy order of the visitation of the blessed Virgin Mary, he died, December 28th, 1622. St. Vincent of Paul, the illustrious apostle of France, in these later ages, was born at Puy, in that kingdom, in the year 1567. His life, from the foundation of his first congregation of Missionary Priests, (called Lazarists, from the priory of St. Lazarus, ceded to them in 1633,) was a continued series of works of charity. His pious foundations for missions in all parts of the kingdom, as well as distant provinces and states, for spiritual retreats, for foundlings, and for the sisters of charity, have proved the resource of France, in these latter days, against the deluge of impiety and infidelity, which had overturned nearly all her ancient religious establishments. St. Vincent exerted his zeal in opposing the partisans of Jansenius, and, worn out with labour and austerities, died, September 27th, 1660, in the 85th year of his age. St. Philip Neri, founder of the congregation of Oratorians at Rome, who died in 1595, and St. Teresa, the celebrated reformer of the Carmelites, deceased at Avila in Spain, in 1582, deserve by their labours and writings to be mentioned in history, if the narrow limits of this abridgment did not oblige us to omit any particulars of their lives. St. Charles Borromæo, Cardinals Bellarmin and Berulle, are names that will ever be mentioned with sentiments of admiration.

CHAPTER VII.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS
OF EUROPE.

NORWAY, a part of the ancient Scandinavia, had kings of its own till the year 1375. Of Sweden, we have no certain account till the year 714, when it was converted to Christianity by St. Anscharius, about which time Denmark, the ancient seat of the Cimbri, is said to have been governed by a king called Gormo.

Margaret, daughter of Waldemar III., King of Denmark, married Hacquin, King of Norway, son of Magnus III., King of Sweden. On the death of her son Olaus, the last male heir of these three crowns, which were more elective than hereditary, she succeeded by consent of the states to the Danish throne in 1387. She was elected Queen of Norway, which she had governed as regent, and the Swedes, being oppressed by Albert of Mecklenburg, whom they had chosen king, offered their crown to Margaret.

The three northern crowns were no sooner fixed on her head, than she laboured to render their union perpetual. She convoked the states of the three kingdoms to meet at Calmar, in Sweden, where it was established as a fundamental law that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, should thenceforth have but one and the same sovereign, who should be chosen successively by each kingdom, and then approved by the other two. But this union proved the source of much discontent and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Danes and Swedes was now heightened by national jealousy. Margaret's partiality to the former is said to have been evident; and under her successor, Eric, the Swedes openly revolted, choosing their Grand Marshal Canutson, first regent, and afterwards king. The Swedes, however, returned to their allegiance under Christian I. of Denmark, in 1442, but again revolted from the same prince; they renewed the treaty of Calmar, under John, his successor; revolted a third time, and were reduced by Christian II. to the state of a conquered people. The Swedes, on revolting from Christian I., had conferred the administration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whose son succeeded to the regency. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of the nation,

but disputed by Gustavus Trolle, Archbishop of Upsal and Primate of Sweden, whose father had been a competitor for the administration, and whom Christian II. had brought over to his interest. Besieged in his castle of Steckla, and obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the interposition of the Danish monarch, the archbishop was deprived of all his benefices. In his distress he applied to Pope Leo X., who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the decree to the King of Denmark. Pursuant to this decree, the Nero of the North, as Christian II. is deservedly styled, invaded Sweden with a powerful army; but being worsted in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to go in person to Stockholm to confer with the regent, provided six hostages were sent as a pledge of his safety. The proposal was accepted, and six of the first nobility, among whom was Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew of King Canutson, were put on board the Danish fleet, whom the perfidious Christian carried prisoners to Denmark. Next year he returned with a more formidable armament, invaded West Gothland, where Steen Sture, advancing to give him battle, fell into an ambuscade, and received a mortal wound. The Swedish army, left without a head, was soon dispersed; and the conqueror left the senate no time to deliberate upon the choice of a new regent. He immediately marched to the capital, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Stockholm surrendered, and Gustavus Trolle, resuming his archiepiscopal functions, crowned Christian King of Sweden. This coronation was followed by one of the most tragical scenes recorded in history. Christian, knowing how much he was hated by the Swedes, affected clemency, and swore he would govern Sweden, not as a conqueror, but as a father; after which he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment, which lasted three days. Meanwhile, a plot was formed for extirpating the Swedish nobility. On the last day of the feast, as had been preconcerted, Archbishop Trolle reminded the king, that though his majesty had graciously pardoned all past offences, no satisfaction had been made to the Pope, in whose name he demanded justice. The hall was instantly filled with armed men, who secured the guests; the primate proceeded against them as excommunicated persons; a scaffold was erected before the palace gate; and ninety-four persons of distinction, among whom was Eric Vasa, father of the famous Gustavus, were publicly executed. The rage of the soldiery was then let loose against the citizens, who were butchered without

mercy. The body of the late regent was dug from the grave and exposed on a gibbet. But Sweden soon found a deliverer from the tyranny of the Danes in Gustavus Vasa, who had escaped from his prison in Denmark, and concealed himself in the habit of a peasant among the mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off his little treasure, bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish with hunger, he entered himself among the miners, and worked under ground for bread, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and distinguished among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and by his strength and agility, he had acquired a considerable degree of ascendancy over them before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himself known to them at their annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country. They listened with admiration, and begged to be led against the enemy. Gustavus did not suffer their ardour to cool. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his castle, took it by assault, and sacrificed the Danish garrison to the vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have tasted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any desperate enterprise. Gustavus everywhere saw himself victorious, and gained partisans in all parts of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour; he was first chosen regent, and, in 1523, King of Sweden. Meanwhile, Christian II., become obnoxious by his tyranny even to his Danish subjects, was degraded from the throne; and not daring to trust any one, he retired into the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law, Charles V. Frederic, Duke of Holstein, Christian's uncle, was elected King of Denmark and Norway. He aspired also to the sovereignty of Sweden; but finding Gustavus firmly seated on that throne, he laid aside his claim, and afterwards entered into an alliance with Gustavus and the Hanse towns against the deposed monarch, Christian II., who, after several unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died in prison. Frederic was succeeded on the Danish throne by his son, Christian III., in 1533. This prince introduced Lutheranism into Denmark and Norway in 1537, in imitation of Gustavus, who had already established it in Sweden. Christian III. died in 1558, and Gustavus in 1560.

While Denmark and Sweden were thus rising to distinction, Russia remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity, from which it was called by the creative genius of Peter the

Great, who made his country known, and rendered it formidable to the rest of Europe. John Basilowitz, Grand Duke of Muscovy, threw off the yoke of the Tartars, to whom Russia had been long tributary; invaded their territories, made himself master of Novogorod and also of Cassan, where he was crowned with the diadem of that country, and assumed the title of czar, which, in the Slavonian language, signifies king or emperor. To these acquisitions, his grandson, John Basilowitz II., added, in 1554, Astracan and also Siberia, hitherto as little known to the Russians, as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as easily conquered. This prince sent ambassadors to the court of England, and concluded a treaty of commerce with Queen Elizabeth in 1569: Richard Chancellor, an English navigator, having discovered, some years before, (by doubling the North Cape,) the port of Archangel, on the river Dwina. Poland began to be of some consideration in the north after the race of the Jagellons came to the throne, and united Lithuania to that kingdom. The crown, though elective, continued uninterrupted in the same family nearly two hundred years; and Sigismund I., contemporary with Charles V., was esteemed a great prince.

Prussia, which has since made so great a figure in the affairs of Europe, was only erected into a kingdom in the year 1700. It was originally conquered from the pagans of the north, by the knights of the Teutonic order, who held it upwards of 300 years. At last Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, grand master of the order, embracing Lutheranism, and willing to aggrandize himself at the expense of the knights, agreed to share Prussia with his uncle, Sigismund I., King of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. The proposal was accepted; Albert, in 1582, took the title of duke in his new territory; hence part of the present kingdom is called Ducal Prussia, and that part ceded to Poland on the western side of the Vistula, Regal Prussia.

CHAPTER VIII.

GERMANY, FROM THE RESIGNATION OF CHARLES V., IN 1556,
TO THE DEATH OF MAXIMILIAN II., IN 1576.

1556.—CHARLES V. was succeeded on the imperial throne by his brother, Ferdinand I., the beginning of whose reign was distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which reconciled the house of Hesse to that of Nassau. Pius IV., who was raised to the papacy in 1559, confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand, and issued a bull for reassembling the Council of Trent. On the publication of that bull, 1561, the Protestants assembled at Naumberg in Saxony, and came to a resolution of adhering to the Confession of Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the Council of Trent. Meanwhile, Ferdinand issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he conducted matters with so much address, that his son Maximilian, already promoted to the throne of Bohemia, was elected King of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the Germanic body.

1563.—The famous Council of Trent, which had been so often suspended and renewed during eighteen years, was finally concluded in the December of this year. In the last session, (December 5,) all the decrees of the former sessions under Paul III., Julius III., and Pius IV., were confirmed and subscribed by two hundred and fifty-five fathers, viz.: four legates of the holy see, two cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, thirty-nine deputies of absent prelates, seven abbots, and seven generals of religious orders. Among these, many were eminent for their learning, and many for their extraordinary virtue. Matters were discussed in particular congregations, and lastly defined in the sessions. It was agreed that points of faith and matters of discipline should be jointly considered, and the condemnation of errors and the decrees for the reformation of manners carried on together; there being abuses in practice relative to many points of doctrine. Besides the prelates, above one hundred and fifty theologians, some of the ablest from all Catholic nations, attended the council, and discussed every point in the conferences. Innumerable difficulties had been thrown in the way, first by one prince and then by another; and it was chiefly owing to the unwearied zeal of St. Charles Borromæo, Archbishop of Milan, that they were at length happily removed. The council was confirmed by Pope

Pius IV., January 26th, 1564.* Soon after died the Emperor Ferdinand I. He was succeeded by his grandson, Maximilian II., who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to engage in a war against the Turks. Solyman II., whose valour and ambition had been so long terrible to Christendom, though now no longer fit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He even projected, it was said, the conquest of the German empire. The affairs of Transylvania furnished him with a pretext for taking up arms. John Sigismund, prince of that country, had assumed the title of King of Hungary, (which his mother had resigned for some possessions in Silesia,) and put himself under the protection of the Grand Seignior. Maximilian immediately sent an army against Sigismund, under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would soon have reduced all Transylvania, had not Solyman despatched an ambassador to the imperial court to negotiate in behalf of his vassal. By this envoy, matters were seemingly accommodated; however, the sultan did not lay aside his projects, nor, happily, the emperor his suspicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augsburg for regulating the domestic affairs of the empire and securing it against the Turks, Solyman sent a fleet and army to reduce the Isle of Malta, whence he hoped to drive the Knights of St. John, whom he had formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who still continued to annoy the infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solyman's glory. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of almost five months and the loss of 24,000 men, was obliged to abandon the enterprise. La Valette, Grand Master of Malta, and the whole body of knights, signalized themselves wonderfully on that occasion; but, as the Turks were continually reinforced, the island must at last have surrendered, if Don Garcia, Governor of Sicily, had not come to its relief with 12,000 men. Solyman, in revenge of this disappointment and disgrace, the greatest he had ever endured, sent a fleet to reduce the Isle of Scio, and ravaged the coast of Italy; and having invaded Hungary with a powerful

* In vain have the advocates for religious innovations tried to invalidate the authority of this last œcumenical council: its doctrinal decisions are those of truth: they are received by the whole Catholic church, and will stand inviolable to the end of time. All kingdoms and states in communion with the see of Rome were witnesses of the surprising change which the regulations ordered by the council effected both in the clergy and the people. An exact account of this council is to be found in the esteemed history of Cardinal Palavicini, who has charged Fra Paolo's compilation, so often cited by Protestant authors, with no fewer than 360 errors.

army, he laid siege to Sigeth. This city is strongly situated in a marsh, about fifteen miles to the north of the Drave, on the frontiers of Slavonia, and was then the bulwark of Stiria against the Turks. The brave Count Zerini long defended it with incredible valour, against the whole force of the sultan. Meanwhile, the Emperor Maximilian lay in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the besiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being destroyed, and the magazine set on fire by the enemy, Zerini sallied forth, at the head of 300 chosen men, and died gallantly, sword in hand. During the siege of Sigeth, before which the Turks lost above 3000 men, Solyman expired, in the 76th year of his age; but the emperor, being unacquainted with this circumstance, which was kept secret till after the reduction of the place, had retired towards the frontiers of Austria, as soon as informed of the death of Zerini. Solyman was succeeded on the Ottoman throne by his son, Selim II., who immediately concluded a truce of twelve years with Maximilian. In consequence of this suspension of arms, and the pacific disposition of the emperor, Germany enjoyed some repose. Selim, in the mean time, was not idle. After attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, he turned his arms against the Island of Cyprus, then belonging to the republic of Venice. Pope Pius V. and the King of Spain, on the first rumour of this invasion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm before the arrival of the allied fleet, and the Turks, being daily reinforced with fresh troops, had reduced all the towns in the island except Famagosta. That city, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Mustapha, the Turkish general, neither respecting courage in an enemy, nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism, either to be butchered, or chained to the oar. This conquest is said to have cost the Turks 100,000 men.

1571.—The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers; Charles IX., however, excused himself, on account of the distressed state of his kingdom, from entering into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were in general too much interested in the issue of the religious wars in France and the Low Countries, to enlist themselves under the banner of the cross. But Philip II. entered warmly into the cause, and engaged to bear

half the expense of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. The Pope, who was the soul of the enterprise, sent twelve galleys under Mark Antony Calonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian galleys, Doria those of Philip. The chief command was given to Don John of Austria,* who had lately distinguished himself in Spain, by subduing the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors.

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but also those of Italy. Their fleet, consisting of 230 galleys, was met by the confederates, on the 5th of October, in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought the greatest naval engagement that modern times had beheld. The force on both sides was nearly equal, and the contest was long, fierce, and bloody. Assisted by a brisk gale of wind, which promised them the greatest possible advantage, the Turks bore down with rapidity on the Christians; but just as the fight began, a calm ensued, which was succeeded by a high wind entirely favourable to the latter. The hostile combatants fought hand to hand in most of the galleys, and grappled together as on a field of battle. Hâli, the Turkish admiral, surrounded by 400 Janizaries, and Don John of Austria, with an equal number of chosen men, maintained such a struggle for three hours. At last Hâli was slain and his galley taken: the banner of the cross was displayed from the mainmast, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the stern. All now was carnage and confusion. The cry of "victory" resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turkish army everywhere gave way. They lost 30,000 men in the conflict, 10,000 more were taken prisoners, and 15,000 Christian slaves set at liberty. This victory, which filled Constantinople with the deepest melancholy, was celebrated at Venice with the most splendid festivals. The battle of Lepanto was followed by a peace between the Venetians and Turks, in which treaty Cyprus was ceded to the Ottoman empire. The Pope was displeased at this treaty, which was certainly dishonourable to Christendom. Don John was equally dissatisfied with the Venetians, and after separating himself from the confederates, took Tunis; but in spring, 1574, the Turks attacked it; and, though gallantly defended, it was taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword.

In 1576, Maximilian II. died, while preparing to support his election to the throne of Poland; and was succeeded in the empire by his son, Rodolph II.

* He was natural son to Charles V.

CHAPTER IX.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND FRANCE, DURING THE SAME PERIOD, *i. e.* FROM 1559, TO 1574.

THE treaty of Chateau Cambresis by no means restored tranquillity to Europe. The Protestant opinions had already made considerable progress, both in France and the Low Countries, and Philip II. and Henry II. were equally resolved to extirpate heresy from their dominions.

1559.—A new source of discord also arose between France and England. The family of Guise, who had negotiated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II., and their niece, Mary, Queen of Scots, governed both king and kingdom. Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, and his brother Lewis, Prince of Condé, besides the Constable Montmorenci and his powerful family, became envious of their power. A civil war ensued, not unlike that which was going on at the same time in Scotland; while Elizabeth, whose title was disputed in both these countries, openly favoured the Protestants in Scotland and the Huguenots* in France. Towards the close of the year 1560, the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were seized and thrown into prison; the latter was condemned to death, but the sudden demise of the young king arrested the uplifted blow. Catherine of Medicis was appointed guardian to her son, Charles IX., only eleven years of age at his accession, and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim, "Divide and govern," the King of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the Constable de Montmorenci was recalled to court, and the Guises, though still in power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence. The death of Francis II. without issue, freed the Queen of England from the perils attending a union of Scotland with France, and the still greater apprehensions of England's becoming eventually a province dependent on the latter crown; but she still regarded the Queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, and again insisted on a renunciation of her claim to the English crown. Mary, though now slighted by the queen

* The Protestants in France were called Huguenots.

mother, forsaken by the swarm of courtiers, who appear only in the sunshine of prosperity, and overwhelmed with the sorrow which so sad a reverse of fortune could occasion, refused to make any solemn renunciation of the English throne. In the mean time, the states of Scotland invited Mary to return to her native kingdom and assume the reins of government. Accustomed to the elegance and gayety of a splendid court, and to the conversation of a polished people, among whom she had been educated from her infancy, she contemplated with horror the barbarism of her own country, and the turbulence of her native subjects, who had so violently spurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, she determined at last to set out for Scotland, and demanded of Elizabeth a safe conduct during her voyage. That request Elizabeth rejected in such a manner as gave rise to no slight suspicion of a design, either to obstruct the passage, or intercept the person of the Queen of Scots. This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth did not retard Mary's departure from France. She embarked on board a galley at Calais, and passing the English fleet under cover of a thick fog, arrived safely at Leith. The first appearance of affairs in Scotland was more favourable than Mary had reason to expect. Her youth and beauty, with the gracefulness of her person, attracted universal admiration; while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. She was skilled in many languages, ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in all the arts and sciences esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by those who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of the crown; and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, gains the hearts of her subjects, rendered all her other qualities more engaging.

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour; but these promising appearances soon vanished. Mary professed the Catholic religion, and this circumstance alone rendered her odious to her subjects, and formed the ground of all the calumnies and insults that were afterwards heaped upon her. It was with much difficulty she could even obtain permission to have mass celebrated in her own chapel. The pulpits soon became mere stages for railing against her, and exciting the people to rebellion. The Calvinistical preacher, John Knox, who had recently arrived from Geneva, styled her the Jezebel of the nation. She applied for relief to Elizabeth, who immediately

put on all the appearance of cordial reconciliation and friendship, while she secretly encouraged the factious party.

Meanwhile, Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in consequence of her maxim of dividing to govern, only increased the troubles of the state. By balancing the Catholics against the Protestants, the Duke of Guise against the Prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both, and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. Moved by zeal for the ancient religion, the Constable Montmorenci united with the Duke of Guise, and the King of Navarre joined the same party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family, was distracted with internal rage and animosity. Wherever the Huguenots prevailed, the altars were overthrown and churches demolished.

1562.—They had already made themselves master of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angoulême, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre-de-Grace, and several places of less note, when Philip II. sent 6,000 men to reinforce the Catholics; and the Prince of Condé craved the assistance of the Queen of England, offering to put her in possession of Havre-de-Grace. Elizabeth immediately sent 3,000 men to take possession of that town, and 3,000 more to defend Dieppe and Rouen, but the Catholics carried Havre by assault, and put the garrison and inhabitants to the sword.

1563.—The Duke of Guise, animated by this conquest, laid siege to Orleans: he had the prospect of speedy success in this undertaking, when he was assassinated by an enthusiastic Huguenot in the pay of Coligni. Condé and Montmorenci, the heads of the two opposite parties, had both been taken prisoners; tired of captivity, they became desirous of an accommodation, and soon came to an agreement. A general amnesty was published, and both sides laid down their arms.

1564.—In the subsequent treaty between England and France, Elizabeth, who had unjustifiably broken the terms of the peace of Chateau Cambresis, was content to receive one-fourth part of the sum originally stipulated in lieu of the restitution of Calais, which town remained united with the French territory.

The negotiation for the marriage of the Queen of Scots awakened anew the jealousy of Elizabeth, and roused the zeal of the Scottish reformers. The young queen's hand was solicited by the Archduke Charles, the emperor's third son, by

Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spanish monarchy, and by the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. Either of these foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth and to Mary's Protestant subjects; she therefore resolved to make Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of Lenox, and her cousin-german, by Margaret Douglas, niece of Henry VIII., the partner of her sway. In the following year, (1565) the malcontents appeared in arms; but, by the vigour and activity of Mary, they were compelled to take refuge in England. The deceitful Elizabeth, upon whose promises of protection they had revolted, refused to see them except in the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors; and the Scottish exiles, finding themselves so harshly treated by her, had recourse to the clemency of their offended sovereign for pardon.

1566.—The associated lords having plotted the ruin of their queen, whose religion they hated, determined upon the murder of her husband, as a preparatory step to it. Darnley, a weak and profligate character, was supposed to have lost the queen's affections, and it is certain that the indifference he showed her, ill requited the fondness and generosity she had testified for him. The murder of her faithful secretary, Rizzio, before her face, by Darnley's order, and in his presence, was an action no less shocking to humanity, than insulting to the dignity of Mary, who not long after gave birth to a son, named James, afterwards King of England. The next year, (1567,) her husband being taken ill at Glasgow, she followed him thither, and as soon as he could be moved, accompanied him to Edinburgh, in order that she might be able to attend him herself, without being absent from her son. There, in a house called "Kirk of Field," situated without the town walls, to which she removed the king for the benefit of the air, she continued her assiduous care of him, sleeping several nights in an adjoining room. On the 9th of February, about eleven o'clock at night, she left the house in order to be present at a masked ball in the palace, given in honour of the marriage of one of her domestics; and at two o'clock the next morning, the house in which the king lay was blown up with gunpowder, and his dead body was found in a neighbouring enclosure. Suspicion instantly fell on the Earl of Bothwell.*

* A bond had been entered into, signed by the Earls Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and Sir James Balfour, to murder the king. Bothwell undertook to perpetrate the deed.

Among the profligate characters in which Scotland then abounded, he held a conspicuous rank. He aspired to a partnership in the throne, and the rebel lords, who judged him a proper instrument for the accomplishment of their dark design, had encouraged him in his ambitious views; after the assassination of Darnley, they entered into a new league, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, and to assist him against all mortals whomsoever. Meanwhile, Mary summoned a parliament, at the request of her father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox; and a day was appointed for the trial of Bothwell and some others, whom the earl accused of the murder of his son; but, intimidated by the superior power of his adversary, Lennox, on the eve of the trial, wrote from Stirling, to request an adjournment of forty days. This petition was rejected; and as no prosecutor appeared, the jury returned a verdict in favour of the accused, (April 12.) But as Mary resolutely refused the Earl of Bothwell's suit, convinced that force alone could extort her consent, he watched the opportunity, when the queen was returning from a visit to her infant son, at Stirling, (April 24,) seized her person, and conducted her to the castle of Dunbar, where she remained a prisoner ten days nor was she released from confinement till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell. The marriage ceremony was performed at Holyrood House, by a reformed minister, on the 15th of May. Soon after the rebel lords, who had so recently bound themselves to assist Bothwell, entered into a new association, and, under pretence of revenging the late king's death, made their queen, with the infamous Bothwell, prisoners. Him they suffered to escape, lest he might betray their secrets. He fled to the Orkney Islands, and thence to Norway, where he lost his senses, and died in confinement. The captive queen they conveyed to the Castle of Lochleven, where they compelled her to resign her crown to her infant son, and to appoint Earl Murray, her natural brother and professed enemy, regent. Forged letters, supposed to have passed between her and Bothwell, during the late king's life, were handed about, to make the world believe that she was accessory to the murder of her husband. To palliate their conduct, the associated lords alleged that they had offered to obey Mary as their sovereign, provided she would give up Bothwell, to suffer as the murderer of Darnley. The queen, on her side, who, in the first instance, had been made to believe him innocent by these same men, said she had proposed to convene the three estates of the kingdom, and to submit to their

determination the validity of her marriage, and the punishment of the murderers.

The conduct of Elizabeth during all this period, was extremely equivocal. On the first intelligence of Darnley's murder, she had despatched Throckmorton, with an excellent letter of advice to Mary, but on his arrival he could not procure admittance to the queen, and it is believed she did not receive the letter before the acquittal of Bothwell. Elizabeth, though she continued openly to profess herself the friend of Mary, and demanded her liberation in strong terms, was deceived by her secretary, Cecil; her ministers were closely leagued with the enemies of the Scottish queen, and through their medium alone could Elizabeth act and receive information. After a year's confinement, when a loyal party effected Mary's escape, (in 1568,) she fled to England; where Elizabeth, affecting to believe all the calumnies which had been circulated concerning this unfortunate queen, not only refused her a personal interview, though granted to the rebel Murray, but gave orders for her to be put under arrest, and confined her in different castles during nineteen years. The regent (Murray) was assassinated in revenge for a private injury, in 1570, and was succeeded in his office by Morton.

The civil war broke out again in France in 1567. Pretending to believe, though without any satisfactory evidence, that at a late meeting between the French and Spanish courts, at Bayonne, a resolution had been formed to extirpate the Protestants, Condé again unsheathed the sword, and attempted to surprise the young king at Monceaux, whence he with difficulty escaped to Paris. The English ambassador, Norris, had been instrumental in arranging this unjustifiable outrage, and Elizabeth, through the persuasion of her ministers, continued to assist the insurgents, though she professed to be at peace with their sovereign. The same year, (Nov. 10,) a battle was fought in the plains of St. Denis, in which the rebels were defeated, but the old Constable Montmorenci, general of the Catholics, was slain; and in 1569, the Duke of Anjou, brother of the king, gained the famous battle of Jarnac, in which Condé was killed. Coligni, whose resources never failed, assembled a new and formidable army of Huguenots, having with him the young King of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV. Coligni was defeated in 1571, at the memorable battle of Montoncour, with the loss of 10,000 men. Soon after, the king entered into a negotiation with the Huguenots, granted them a pardon for all past offences,

and ceded to them for two years, as places of refuge, Rochelle, Montauban, and some other places; and, in fine, offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young King of Navarre, (1572.) The Admiral de Coligni, the Prince of Condé, and all the chiefs of the Protestant party, went to Paris to assist at the celebration of the marriage; Coligni, in passing through the streets, received two wounds from the hands of an assassin, which, though not dangerous, roused the chieftains of his party to threats of vengeance against the queen-mother, to whom they were attributed by Coligni. These threats elicited an order from the king in council, to anticipate the expected attack; the Duke of Guise and his followers, on the following morning, (the eve of St. Bartholomew,) forced the hotel where the admiral resided, and murdered him, as well as every Huguenot that fell in their way. The barbarous measure was imitated in several of the provinces; and though the governors were ordered to prevent similar excesses, many fell victims to the revenge of an infuriated mob, chiefly in those towns where the remembrance of the late cruelties exercised by the Huguenots were fresh in their minds. The numbers of those who perished on this occasion have been greatly exaggerated by Voltaire and by Protestant writers, who at first made them amount to 100,000. The lists collected from the ministers of the different towns gave the names of 786.* Condé and the King of Navarre were exempted from the general doom, and they afterwards abjured their heresy.

The miseries of France increased every day. Charles grew jealous of his brothers; and many of the Catholics, displeased with all the measures of the court, favoured the progress of the Huguenots. In the midst of these disorders died Charles IX., at the age of twenty-four years, in 1574; he was succeeded by his brother, Henry, Duke of Anjou, lately elected King of Poland.

* See Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. viii. pp. 74—76, and note T; and Vindication, &c., in reply to the Edinburgh Review.

CHAPTER X

EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES IX., TO THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV., IN 1589.

1574.—HENRY III., on his accession to the throne of France, found the kingdom in the greatest disorder. The people were divided into two factions, mutually enraged from the injuries they had committed or suffered. Henry, desirous of preserving a balance between the factions, granted peace to the Protestants on the most advantageous conditions. This treaty of pacification was so displeasing to the Catholics, that the Duke of Guise immediately laid the foundation of the League; an association, which, without any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the new doctrines. In order to divert the force of the League, Henry declared himself at the head of it; but his dilatory and feeble measures discovered his reluctance to the undertaking. His moderation appeared criminal to one party, and suspicious to both; while the plain, direct, and avowed conduct of the Duke of Guise, on one side, and of the King of Navarre on the other, engaged by degrees the bulk of the nation to enlist themselves under one or other of those great leaders. (1576.)

While such was the position of affairs in France, the Low Countries were struggling to throw off the Spanish yoke, and met with great encouragement and assistance from Elizabeth. After a variety of events, much bloodshed, cruel enmity, jealousies, and desperate battles, William, Prince of Orange, (1579,) formed the scheme of closely uniting the provinces of Holland and Zealand, and cementing them with such others as lay most contiguous; Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, and Guelderland, in which the Protestant interest was predominant. The deputies accordingly met at Utrecht, and signed that famous union of seven provinces, independent of each other, yet as closely connected as a bundle of arrows, the arms and emblem of their republic.

1580.—While Philip was losing the seven United Provinces, fortune threw in his way a new sovereignty. Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, great-grandson of Emanuel, and grandson of John III., determined to signalize himself by an expedition against the Moors in Africa. He espoused the cause of Muley Mahomet, (who had been dispossessed of the

kingdoms of Fez and Morocco by his uncle, Muley-Moluck, and, contrary to the opinion of his wisest counsellors, embarked for Africa, in 1578, at the head of 20,000 men. The army of Muley-Moluck was superior, but this only roused the courage of Don Sebastian. The two armies engaged near Alcazarquivir, and after a desperate conflict, the Christians were totally routed, or rather destroyed, being either killed or taken prisoners. Among the slain was Don Sebastian; and the two Moorish kings, uncle and nephew, were also left dead on the field. The King of Portugal, having left no issue, was succeeded by his uncle, Cardinal Henry, who also dying without children, (1580,) a number of competitors arose for the crown. Among them was the King of Spain, nephew to Henry by the mother's side; the Duke of Braganza, married to the granddaughter of the great Emanuel, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Parma, and Catherine of Medicis. Philip's claim was perhaps the best, and he had most power to support it. The old Duke of Alva, who had been for some time in disgrace for ill success in the Netherlands, was recalled to court, like a mastiff unchained for fighting, and placed at the head of an army. His victories decided the contest. Philip was crowned at Lisbon, and proclaimed in India in 1581.

1583.—The King of Spain, though not yet come to an open rupture with Elizabeth, sent a body of 700 Spaniards into Ireland, to retaliate for the assistance she had given to his rebellious subjects in Holland; but they were cut off to a man. When the English ambassador at the court of Madrid complained of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of Francis Drake, a bold navigator, who had passed into the South Sea by the straits of Magellan, taken many rich prizes from the Spaniards, and returned home safely by the Cape of Good Hope in 1580. As he was the first Englishman who had circumnavigated the globe, his name became celebrated, and the queen, who loved valour, and hoped to share in the spoil, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet on board his ship. She, however, caused part of the booty to be restored, in order to appease the Catholic king.

1584.—The Prince of Orange was this year assassinated at Delf; his death deprived the United Provinces of their chief support. Out of gratitude to his memory, they elected his son Maurice, though only eighteen years old, their stadtholder and captain-general by sea and land.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Parma having reduced Ghent and

Brussels, made preparations for the siege of Antwerp, the richest and most populous city of the Netherlands. On his first approach, the citizens opened the sluices, cut down the dykes, and overflowed the neighbouring country with an inundation which swept away all his magazines. Not discouraged by this loss, he cut, at prodigious labour and expense, but with incredible expedition, a canal from Stekin to Caloo, to carry off the waters. He next erected that stupendous monument of his genius, a fortified bridge across the deep and rapid river Scheld, to prevent all communication with the town by sea. The besieged attempted to burn it or blow it up, by sending against it two fire-ships full of powder and other combustible materials. But this scheme failing, and the besiegers daily making progress, in spite of every effort to oppose them, Antwerp sent deputies to the duke, and agreed to acknowledge the sovereignty of Philip. Domestic jealousy, no less than the valour of the Spaniards or the conduct of their general, contributed to the fall of this flourishing city. The Hollanders, and particularly the citizens of Amsterdam, obstructed every measure for the relief of Antwerp, hoping to profit by its reduction. The Protestants, it was concluded, would forsake it, as soon as it fell into the hands of Philip. The conjecture proved just. Antwerp went hourly to decay, and Amsterdam, enriched by the emigration of her inhabitants, became the greatest commercial city in the Netherlands.

1585.—The loss of Antwerp was a mortal blow to the cause of the republicans: they tendered the sovereignty of their country to the King of France; but the distracted state of that monarchy obliged Henry III. to reject so advantageous an offer. The Duke of Anjou's death, which he expected would bring him relief by freeing him from the intrigues of that prince, only plunged him into deeper distress. The King of Navarre, a professed Protestant, being now next heir to the crown, the Duke of Guise took thence occasion to revive the League, and to urge the king to exclude the King of Navarre, and to extinguish the heresy he abetted.

The United Provinces had again recourse to Elizabeth, who immediately concluded a treaty with them, and sent the Earl of Leicester over to Holland, at the head of the English auxiliaries; while Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of twenty sail, attacked the Spaniards in the West Indies. This gallant seaman made himself master of St. Jago de Cuba; of St. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola; of Carthagena, and several other places; and returned to England in 1586, with such

riches as served to stimulate the nation to future enterprises. The English arms were less successful in the Low Countries. Leicester was recalled, and Lord Willoughby appointed commander of the English forces. The scene that now opened was new and extraordinary. Elizabeth and her ministers resolved to bring Mary, Queen of Scots, to a public trial, on pretence of her having formed a conspiracy against the life of the English queen. As Camden* endeavours to connect the several partial disturbances which happened at different periods of this reign, during the nineteen years Mary remained a captive in England, apparently with a view of making them appear like a continued chain of conspiracies against the British queen, we must return to the beginning of Mary's captivity, in order to notice the first of these really *separate* events, which the thread of the narrative prevented our mentioning before. The Duke of Norfolk, though a professed Protestant, was supposed secretly to favour the Catholic interest. This circumstance, in addition to his high rank and popularity, rendered him the object of ministerial jealousy. He aspired to a marriage with the captive Queen of Scots. The English ministry maliciously contrived to have the proposal made to him, with a design of effecting his ruin. His consent to marry Mary was construed into a formal conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth and the Protestant religion, and on that ground the duke was condemned and beheaded, June 2d, 1572.—The supposed correspondence between Pope Pius V. and the Duke of Norfolk, is solemnly contradicted by Mary and by the duke himself. When the queen was interrogated on the subject, she acknowledged her own correspondence with the Pope, but said it was on spiritual matters only. She likewise owned her pecuniary transactions through the agency of Rudolphi, an Italian merchant in London, who had conveyed to her considerable sums, sent by the charity of foreign princes to relieve her wants; but she denied them to have been remitted for any seditious purposes. The conduct of the Pope might indeed lead us to suppose that there was some foundation for the conspiracy laid to his charge. Hoping to effect by severity, what his prudent predecessor (Pius IV.) could not do by moderation, Pius V. had published, in 1569, a bull of excommunication and deposition† against Elizabeth,

* Camden, a learned Protestant antiquary, was the author of the "Annals of Queen Elizabeth," which he published in Latin, 1615.

† The opinion which attributes to the Pope a power over the temporal rights of kings, was a scholastic doctrine, much in vogue among the the

and declared her subjects absolved, by his authority, from their oath of allegiance to her. In the following year, the bull was smuggled into England, and a Mr. Felton had the rashness to fix it on the bishop's gate in London, for which act, equally condemned both by Catholics and Protestants, he was executed. Meanwhile an extensive conspiracy was organized in the north of England, and headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, of which the ostensible object was to effect the restoration of the old religion. The Catholics still formed a large proportion of the population, and assembled in considerable numbers under the standard of the two Earls. But the Duke of Sussex, who was sent by Elizabeth to suppress the insurrection, was every where victorious, and while the leaders made good their escape, hundreds of their humble followers suffered the penalty of treason. As this insurrection had followed so closely on the publication of the bull, and claimed to represent the Catholic cause, it was, though erroneously, deemed its consequence. The whole Catholic body paid the forfeit, although they never adopted the bull and only in one section of country ever resisted her measures. The laws against recusants were rendered more stringent, and the exercise of their religion prohibited under the severest penalties.

In the mean time, the death of the Queen of Scots being resolved upon by the English ministry, it only remained to engage some young men of the Scottish, or the Catholic party, in a conspiracy to set Mary at liberty, with some circumstances of intended violence against the person of Elizabeth, or the peace of the realm, and then to procure evidence, real or forged, of Mary's being implicated in it; and this work, Walsingham, with the help of his band of spies and forgers, was not long in finding the means to accomplish. About fourteen English gentlemen united in an association to rescue the unhappy Mary from the hands of her enemies. (1586.) Walsingham, who had notice of the plot, and appears to have been the contriver of it, deputed two of his spies to associate with Babington and his companions, and to urge them on to greater excesses than they would otherwise have

ologians of that age, especially beyond the Alps, though never adopted by the church, and now universally rejected. St. Pius V. carried that opinion with him to the pontifical throne. But it should be observed, 1st, That Elizabeth's title to the throne was never acknowledged on the continent; 2dly, That he did not require the English Catholics to receive his bull.

See also the remarkable works of Voight, "Hildebrand and his Times," and of Hurter, History of Innocent III. The temporal power and influence of the Popes in the middle ages are there admirably set forth.

thought of. When the plot was ripe for discovery, they were taken up, indicted for treason, condemned and executed. Walsingham then had a fair opportunity of giving to Babington's conspiracy any extent of criminality he pleased, for the sake of rendering the Catholic name as odious as possible to the nation; and the Queen of Scots was to be tried as a partner in the conspiracy.* An idea so repugnant to majesty, as being arraigned for treason, had not entered the mind of Mary, though she had long lived in dread of private assassination, when forty commissioners, with five judges, arrived at Fotheringay castle, where she was now confined. She received the intelligence, however, without astonishment or emotion, but, protesting in the most solemn manner that she had never countenanced any attempt against the life of Elizabeth, she refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of her commissioners. "I came into England," said she, "an independent sovereign, to implore the queen's assistance, not to subject myself to her authority; nor is my spirit so broken by past misfortune, or so intimidated by present dangers, as to stoop to any thing unbecoming the majesty of a crowned head, that will disgrace the ancestors from whom I am descended, or the son to whom I shall leave my crown. If I am to be tried, princes alone can be my peers. The Queen of England's subjects, how noble soever their birth may be, are of a rank inferior to mine. Ever since my arrival in this kingdom, I have been confined as a prisoner. Its laws never afforded me protection. Let them not now be perverted to take away my life." The commissioners were perplexed; but one of them (Hatton) having observed that conscious guilt made her refuse to plead, she consented next morning to appear before them, after first protesting against the authority of the court. The lawyers of the crown opened the charge against her, and, though unprovided with papers, witnesses, or counsel, she had for two days defended herself with spirit, and had the advantage over her enemies, till, on the third, the proceedings were unexpectedly suspended, and adjourned to Westminster, where sentence of death was pronounced against her, Oct. 25th, 1586. The only evidence against the Queen of Scots, arose from the declaration of her secretaries, that she was engaged in Babington's conspiracy. They were threatened with the torture, if they refused the

* Mary, who had been many years under the care of the Earl of Shrewsbury, at Sheffield, then in the old, ruinous castle of Tutbury, in Staffordshire, was then in Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire, under Sir Amyas Pawlet.

evidence required of them. As her secretaries, they were sworn to keep her secrets, and their perjury in one instance rendered them unworthy of credit in another. They were never confronted with her, though she desired that they might be, and affirmed that they would never to her face persist in their evidence; nor were the original copies of the letters produced against her ever brought forward. But the condemnation of the Queen of Scots, not justice, was the object of this unprecedented trial: the sentence of the commissioners was received in London with transports of joy, and both Houses of Parliament united in a petition to the queen to have it speedily carried into execution. Elizabeth hesitated; she dreaded the infamy that such an action would attach to her name, and she wished to avoid it by the private assassination of her victim. She made the proposal to Sir Amyas Pawlet, February 2d, 1587; but though he hated Mary, he refused to shed her blood without law or warrant.* At last Elizabeth signed the fatal warrant; and the arrival of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl Marshal of England, with his attendants, at Fotheringay, announced the following morning as fixed upon for its execution. Never did Mary appear so great as in this last scene of her life; she was not only tranquil, but intrepid and magnanimous. When Sir Andrew Melville, the master of her household, was permitted to take his last farewell, he burst into tears. "Weep not, good Melville," said she, "there is at present greater cause for rejoicing. Thou shalt this day see Mary Stuart delivered from all her cares, and such an end put to her tedious sufferings as she has long expected. But witness that I die constant in my religion, firm in my fidelity towards Scotland, and unchanged in my affection to France. Commend me to my son. Tell him I have done nothing injurious to his kingdom, to his honour, or to his rights: and God forgive all those who have thirsted without reason for my blood." After long and fervent prayer, she ascended the scaffold at half-past eight o'clock, February 8th, with a firm and intrepid step, and after publicly declaring her innocence of the crime laid to her charge, and professing her religion and pardon of her enemies, she began with the aid of her women to take off her veil; the executioner rudely endeavouring to assist them, she gently checked him, and smiling said, "I have not been accustomed to undress before so many specta-

* See Elizabeth's letter to Sir A. Pawlet, extant in Robertson and in Dr. Milner's "Letters to a Prebendary."

tors, nor served by such 'valets;' and soon after laid her head on the block with calm but undaunted fortitude. Such was the fate of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland and Dowager Queen of France, who, in the forty-fifth year of her age, and the twentieth of her captivity in England, fell a victim to the jealousy of an offended rival.* Elizabeth, when informed of Mary's execution, affected the utmost surprise and concern; sighs, tears, lamentations, and weeds of mourning, were all employed to display the greatness of her sorrow. She even undertook to make the world believe that the Queen of Scots, her dear sister and kinswoman, had been put to death without her knowledge, and contrary to her inclination; and to complete the farce, she commanded Davison, her secretary, to be thrown into prison, under pretence that he had exceeded his commission in despatching the fatal warrant, which, though she had signed, she never meant to carry into execution. This hypocritical disguise was assumed chiefly to appease the young King of Scotland, who seemed determined to employ the whole force of his dominions in order to revenge his mother's death. He recalled his ambassador from England, and every thing bore the appearance of war. Elizabeth saw the danger; and after allowing James an interval to vent his grief and anger, she employed her emissaries to set before him every motive of hope or fear, which might induce him to live in amity with her; and these, joined to the queen's dissimulation and the pacific disposition of James, prevailed over his resentment. He fell gradually into a good understanding with the court of England.

While Elizabeth was thus insuring the tranquillity of her kingdom from the attempts of her neighbours, she was not inattentive to more distant dangers. Hearing that Philip was secretly preparing a prodigious armament, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet, to intercept his supplies and pillage his coasts. Drake, besides other successes, burned, in the harbour of Cadiz, a hundred vessels laden with ammunition and naval stores. The sailing of the armada was thus retarded for twelve months, which afforded Elizabeth leisure to take more effectual measures against that formidable fleet and army, intended for the invasion of her kingdom. Philip was now no longer desirous of keeping his project secret. Every part of his European dominions resounded with the noise of arma-

* Her body was embalmed, and, after six months, interred by order of Elizabeth with royal pomp in the Abbey Church of Peterborough, where it reposed till James I. had it removed to Westminster, in 1612.

ments, and the treasures of both Indies were exhausted in vast preparations for war. In all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artizans were employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; naval stores and provisions were amassed at great expense; armies levied and quartered in the maritime provinces; and plans laid for such an embarkation, as had never before appeared on the ocean. The military preparations in Flanders were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters joined the Duke of Parma, who assembled in the Netherlands 35,000 men, whom he was to transport into England. Elizabeth was apprised of all these preparations. Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed admiral: Drake, Hawkins, and Forbisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The principal fleet was stationed at Plymouth, and a smaller squadron, under Lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the Duke of Parma. An army of 20,000 men was disposed in different bodies along the south coast; 22,000 foot were stationed at Tilbury, to defend the capital; and another army of 36,000 men were ready to march on any side. The queen appeared on horseback at Tilbury, and, riding through the lines, exhorted the soldiers to do their duty; professing her intention rather to perish with them in battle, than to survive the ruin of her people. "I know," said she, "I have only the feeble arm of a woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too."

1588.—The Spanish Armada, after various obstructions, at length appeared in the channel. It consisted of 130 vessels, and carried about 20,000 land forces. Effingham saw it as he was just getting out of Plymouth Sound, coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles, from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons seemed impossible to be justly described by the historians of that age, without assuming the language of poetry. Not satisfied with representing the armada as a spectacle infusing equal terror and admiration into the minds of all beholders, and as the most magnificent that had ever appeared on the main; they assert, that although the ships bore every sail, it yet advanced with a slow motion, as if the ocean had groaned with supporting, and the winds been tired with impelling so enormous a weight. The English admiral at first gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, on account of the size of

their ships, and the number of soldiers on board; but a few trials convinced him that the size of the Spanish ships was no advantage to them; their bulk exposed them to the fire; while their cannon, placed too high, shot over the heads of the English vessels. Every thing conspired to the ruin of this vast armament. Sir Francis Drake took the great galleon of Andalusia, and a large ship of Biscay, which had fallen behind the rest; while the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour to reinforce Effingham, who filled eight of his smaller ships with combustibles, and sent them into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fled with disorder, (July 29,) and the English, besides doing great damage to their whole fleet, took twelve large ships. The Duke of Parma, whose vessels were calculated only for transporting soldiers, refused to leave the harbour, while the English were masters of the sea. The Spanish admiral, (the Duke of Medina Sidonia,) therefore, after many unsuccessful encounters and dangers in unknown seas, with contrary winds, prepared to make his way, but not daring to re-enter the channel, resolved to take the circuit of the island. The English fleet followed him for some time; and, had not their ammunition failed, they had obliged the armada to surrender at discretion. This vast armament, which had been styled the *Invincible*, was attacked by a violent storm in passing the Orkneys; some of the ships were driven on the Western Isles, some on the coast of Ireland; not one-half of the fleet returned to Spain. Philip, whose command of temper and fortitude were superior to adverse fortune, received with an air of tranquillity the news of such a disastrous event. "I thank God," he coolly replied, "who has given me so many resources, that I can bear without inconvenience so heavy a loss. One branch has been lopped off; but the tree is still flourishing, and able to supply its place."

In England, the defeat of the armada was celebrated by the people with the most lively demonstrations of joy: the queen marked it out as an epoch for increasing the sufferings of her Catholic subjects. The Earl of Arundel* had been a prisoner on suspicion of treason, which could not be proved against him, since the year 1583; he was now arraigned again on a charge of high treason contained in a formula of prayer he

* Philip Howard was the eldest son of the late Duke of Norfolk, and became Earl of Arundel in right of his mother, Mary Fitzallan, daughter of the late earl, and heiress of the castle and earldom of Arundel.

had made use of with some other Catholic prisoners in the Tower, during the Spanish invasion. Though the charge was unfounded, his peers declared him guilty, and he was condemned. The queen was prevailed upon to spare his life, yet she concealed her intentions from the prisoner, whose sudden illness and death in 1595 provoked a suspicion of poison. From this date, till the close of Elizabeth's reign, the persecution of the Catholics was unremitting. Sixty-one priests, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen, suffered capital punishment, which, in nearly all these instances, consisted in the butchery of the victim, while still alive and in his perfect senses.

The Puritans next experienced the severity of the queen's government. Several of them were executed; but, by degrees, the persecution against them subsided, and before the death of Elizabeth, they enjoyed a state of comparative peace.

While the naval power of Spain was receiving so signal a defeat on the British shores, great revolutions were taking place in France. Henry III., jealous of the popularity of the Duke of Guise, basely contrived to have him and his brother, the cardinal, murdered. The partisans of the League were enraged, and flew to arms. In this extremity, the king entered into a confederacy with the Huguenots and the King of Navarre, who advanced with him to the gates of Paris. They laid siege to the capital, when Henry III. was assassinated by one Clement, an ignorant enthusiast. This assassination left the succession open to the King of Navarre,* who, as next heir to the crown, assumed the government, under the name of Henry IV.

CHAPTER XI.

EUROPE, FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY IV., TO THE PEACE OF VERVINS, IN 1598.

THE reign of Henry IV., justly styled the Great, forms one of the most memorable eras in the history of France. The eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this prince, as the hero of its military theatre and the centre of its political system; Philip and Elizabeth were now but secondary actors. Upon

* Henry, King of Navarre, was a descendant of St. Lewis, by Robert, Count of Clermont, youngest son of that monarch. He inherited Navarre in right of his mother, Jane, who introduced the tenets of Luther into her dominions, and cruelly persecuted her Catholic subjects.

the assassination of Henry III., one-half of the royal army forsook the King of Navarre on account of his religion. This desertion obliged him to abandon the siege of Paris, and retire into Normandy. Thither he was followed by the forces of the League, commanded by the Duke of Mayenne,* who had proclaimed the Cardinal of Bourbon king, under the name of Charles X.; though that old man, who had been thrown into prison on the assassination of the Guises, was still confined in the castle of Fontenai-le-Comte, in Poitou. Conscious of Henry's distress, Elizabeth immediately sent him a present of £22,000, in order to prevent the desertion of his Swiss and German auxiliaries, and a reinforcement of 4,000 men. Meanwhile Henry had been so fortunate as to secure Dieppe and Caen, and to repulse the Duke of Mayenne, who had attacked him at Arques. On the arrival of the English forces, Henry marched towards Paris, but was again obliged to retire. His forces were still inferior to those of the League, but what was wanting in numbers was supplied by valour. He attacked the Duke of Mayenne at Ivry, (1590,) and gained a complete victory over him. Henry, in this battle, rushed into the thickest of the enemy; but when he perceived their ranks broken, and great havoc committed in the pursuit, his natural humanity and attachment to his countrymen returned, and he cried out, "Spare my enemies; they are Frenchmen." Soon after this victory, died the Cardinal of Bourbon; and the king invested Paris, which he certainly might have reduced by famine, had not his paternal tenderness for his people made him forget the duty of the soldier, and relax the rigour of war. He left a free passage to the old men, women, and children. He permitted the peasants, and even his own men, to carry provisions secretly to the besieged. Meantime, the Duke of Parma, by order of the King of Spain, left the Low Countries, where he was hard pressed by Prince Maurice, and hastened to the relief of Paris. On his approach, Henry raised the siege and offered him battle; but that consummate general, having performed the service for which he was detached, prudently declined the combat, and retired with honour.

1591.—Elizabeth, who had withdrawn her troops on the first prosperous appearance of Henry's affairs, again interposed, and sent him 3,000 men, and afterwards 4,000 more, under the command of her favourite, the Earl of Essex. These, joined to an army of 35,000 men, enabled Henry to lay siege to Rouen, and to prosecute the war, though with

* He was brother to the late Duke of Guise.

various success, till in 1593, after the taking of Dreux, he solemnly made his abjuration at St. Denis, and received absolution from the Archbishop of Bourges. On his accession to the throne, he had promised to study the doctrines of the religion of his ancestors; and this step was the result of several conferences on the subject, at which he had been present. Queen Elizabeth was not a little mortified and irritated at this change in her ally; but her remonstrances on the occasion were unsuccessful. The different provinces and towns of France submitted by degrees to Henry; in 1596 the Duke of Mayenne was reconciled to him; and, charmed with the generous reception which he met with on his submission, he continued ever after firmly attached to the king's person and government.

During these transactions in France, the confederates were not idle in the Low Countries. Prince Maurice and Sir Francis Vere gained at Tournhout, (1597,) a complete victory over the Spaniards, in consequence of which that place immediately surrendered, and many others were reduced before the close of the campaign.

1598.—The confederates were equally successful in other parts. Besides the naval armaments which Elizabeth was continually sending to annoy the Spaniards, in the West Indies, and to obstruct their trade at home, a strong force was sent to Cadiz, where Philip was making preparations against England. The combined English and Dutch fleet attacked the Spanish ships and galleys in the bay, and obliged them all to surrender or run ashore. The Earl of Essex then disembarked his troops, and carried the city by assault. The plunder was considerable, and the loss of the Spaniards was computed at twenty millions of ducats; but the queen was dissatisfied with the commander on his return, because she did not receive a share of the booty.*

Age and infirmities, added to many disappointments, had now broken the spirit of Philip, and he offered peace to the confederates on equitable terms; but as he refused to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces, they would not negotiate with him. Henry's situation did not allow him to behave with the same rigour. France, torn by civil dissensions, stood in need of peace. Philip knew it, and offered

* Lord Burleigh and his son, Sir Robert Cecil, were the earl's enemies at court: and during his absence the former had the address to get his son appointed to the office of secretary, vacant since the death of Walsingham, in 1590.

advantageous conditions to Henry. The French monarch, however, first sent ambassadors to Elizabeth and the States to facilitate a general agreement: they remonstrated against such a measure, unless the independence of the States were made its basis. Henry pleaded his necessity of negotiating, and they were made sensible of the justness of his arguments. A separate peace was accordingly concluded at Vervins (in Aisne) between France and Spain, (in 1598,) by which Henry recovered possession of all the places seized by Philip during the civil wars, and procured to himself, what he had long ardently desired, leisure to settle the domestic affairs of his kingdom, to cultivate the arts of peace, and to contribute to the happiness of his people.

CHAPTER XII.

SPAIN AND THE LOW COUNTRIES, FROM 1598 TO 1609.

1598.—Soon after the peace concluded between France and Spain, at Vervins, a new treaty was negotiated between England and the United Provinces, that the war might be prosecuted with vigour against Philip. Scarcely was this negotiation finished, when Philip II., its first object, breathed his last at Madrid. No European prince ever possessed such vast resources as this monarch. Besides his Spanish and Italian possessions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he enjoyed the whole East India commerce, and reaped the richest harvest from the American mines. But his prodigious armaments, his quarrels with France and England, and his long and expensive wars in the Low Countries, exhausted his treasures, and enriched those whom he sought to subdue; while the Spaniards, dazzled with the sight of the precious metals, and elated with an idea of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures, and were obliged to depend on their more industrious neighbours for the luxuries, as well as the necessaries of life. Spain, once a rich and fertile kingdom, became only the mint of Europe. Its wedges and ingots were no sooner coined, than called for; and often mortgaged before their arrival, as the price of labour and ingenuity. The state was enfeebled, the country rendered sterile, and the people poor and miserable. The condition of the United Provinces was, in all respects, the reverse of Spain. They owed

every thing to their industry; manufactures were carried on with vigour, and commerce was extended to all the quarters of the globe. The republic was become powerful and the people rich. Conscious of this, the court of Madrid had changed its measures before the death of Philip. Despairing of being able to reduce the revolted provinces by force, and desirous of an accommodation, that he might end his days in peace, Philip transferred to his daughter Isabella, contracted to the Archduke Albert of Austria, the sovereignty of the Low Countries. Philip died before the celebration of the marriage, but his son and successor, Philip III., executed his will.

1599.—The first material step taken by Albert and Isabella for reducing the Hollanders to obedience, was the precluding the United Provinces from all intercourse by trade with the Spanish dominions; which an idea of general advantage had induced Philip II. to allow them. Meanwhile, war was carried on with vigour in the Low Countries, and after several towns had been taken, many gallantly assaulted, and no less gallantly defended on both sides, the two armies came to a general engagement at Newport, near Ostend, where Albert was totally defeated. Overtures of peace were again renewed, but rejected by the States. In 1601, the Archduke Albert laid siege to Ostend. The brave resistance which he met with, astonished, but did not discourage him. All the resources of war were exhausted, rivers of blood were spilled; but neither side was dispirited, because both received constant supplies; the one by sea, the other from the neighbouring country. Spinola, who commanded for Albert, showed at last, that no fortification, however strong, is impregnable to an able engineer, furnished with the necessary force. Ostend was reduced to a heap of ruins, and the besiegers were preparing for the grand assault, when the governor offered to capitulate, in 1604. Spinola granted the garrison honourable terms. During this memorable siege, which lasted upwards of three years, and cost the King of Spain and the Archduke the lives of 80,000 brave soldiers, Prince Maurice made himself master of Rimback, Grave, and Sluys, acquisitions which more than balanced the loss of Ostend; and Albert, by employing all his strength against that place, was prevented during three campaigns from entering the United Provinces. The Dutch profited of that interval of security, to push their trade and manufactures. Every nerve was strained in labour, and every talent in ingenuity. Commerce, both foreign and domestic, flourished. Ternate, one of the Moluccas, had been gained, and the East

India Company, that grand pillar of the republic, was established. But, as a counterpoise to these advantages, the States had lost the alliance of England, in consequence of the death of Elizabeth. James I., her successor, showed no inclination to engage in hostilities with Spain ; and concluded, soon after his accession, a treaty with that court.

1605.—Philip III. now resolved to carry on the war against the revolted provinces, with the whole force of his dominions. Spinola was declared commander-in-chief of the Spanish and Italian forces. On the other hand, the States empowered Prince Maurice to augment his army ; they recruited their garrisons, and repaired their fortifications. Spinola's success was rapid during two campaigns, in spite of all the efforts of Maurice. But although he had made himself master of many important places, he had yet made no impression on the body of the republic ; and 300,000 doubloons a month, the common expense of the army, was a sum too large for the Spanish treasury long to disburse, and a drain which not even the mines of Mexico and Peru could supply. His troops mutinied for want of pay. He became sensible of the impracticability of his undertaking ; and delivered it as his opinion, that it was more advisable to enjoy the ten provinces in peace and security, than to risk the loss of the whole Netherlands, in pursuit of the other seven. It was accordingly agreed (1607) to negotiate with the Belgian powers as an independent state. A suspension of arms took place ; and, in 1609, a truce of twelve years was concluded at the Hague, through the mediation of France and England. This treaty secured to the United Provinces the acquisitions they had made, and the liberty for which they had so long struggled. Scarcely had the court of Spain terminated one civil war, than it commenced another. Philip III., by the advice of his minister, the Duke of Lerma, issued an edict ordering all the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, under penalty of death. Their attachment to Mohammedanism, though many of them had received baptism, induced the king to take this step for the preservation of religion among his subjects. He has been severely censured for it by Protestant writers, who tell us, that by this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost nearly a million of industrious inhabitants ; and as that kingdom was already depopulated by long and bloody foreign wars, by repeated emigrations to the New World, and enervated by luxury, it now sunk into a state of languor, from which it has never recovered.

CHAPTER XIII.

ENGLAND, FROM THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA, TO
THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH, IN 1603.

THE leading characteristics of Elizabeth's administration were economy and vigour. The execution of the Queen of Scots and the defeat of the Spanish Armada having freed her from all apprehension in regard to the safety of her crown, she now turned her attention to the affairs of Ireland, where the English sovereignty had hitherto been little more than nominal. Elizabeth saw the importance of that island, and took several measures for reducing it to greater submission. She furnished her deputies with a greater force, and founded a university in Dublin. But in 1585, Sir John Perrot, then lord deputy, put arms into the hands of the inhabitants of Ulster, to enable them to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders; and Philip II. having about the same time engaged many of the Irish gentry to serve in his armies in the Low Countries, Ireland, thus provided with officers and soldiers, was able to maintain a more regular war, and became more formidable to England. Hugh O'Neal, the head of a potent clan, who had been created Earl of Tyrone, framed the project of rendering himself independent. His success surpassed even his hopes. After spinning out the war for some years, he defeated the English army under Sir Henry Bagnal, who was left dead on the field with 1500 men. This victory made Elizabeth resolve to push the war by more vigorous measures; and she appointed, at his own request, her reigning favourite, the Earl of Essex, Governor of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant; vested him with almost unlimited power, and gave him the command of a considerable army. (1599.) But Essex, unacquainted with the country, and misled by interested counsels, disappointed the expectations of the queen and the nation, and fearing the artifices of his enemies at home, suddenly returned, expressly contrary to the queen's orders. He was confined a prisoner in his own house by her command, and, by a decree of the privy council, was deprived of all his employments except that of master of the horse.

1601.—Essex, finding the queen inexorable, threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Already high in the public favour, he practised anew every art of popularity, and, sallying

forth at the head of 200 followers, attempted to raise the city ; but, meeting with little encouragement, he was obliged to surrender at discretion. Orders were immediately given for his trial. He was condemned, and privately beheaded in the Tower, to prevent the danger of an insurrection.

1602.—Meanwhile, Lord Mountjoy, who had succeeded Essex in Ireland, restored the queen's authority in that kingdom. He defeated the rebels near Kinsale, though supported by 6,000 Spaniards, whom he expelled the island ; and many of the chieftains submitted to mercy, and received such terms as the deputy was pleased to prescribe. Even Tyrone petitioned for terms, which being denied him, he was obliged to throw himself on the queen's clemency. He renounced forever the name of O'Neal, and all pretensions to sovereignty ; on these conditions his life was spared, and most of his estates were restored to him.

But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any pleasure from the fortunate conclusion of a war, which had long occupied her councils, exhausted her treasury, and disturbed her domestic peace. Though in her seventieth year, she had hitherto enjoyed good health ; but the infirmities of old age stole upon her, and with them great depression of spirits. She had no offspring to inherit her dominions ; she saw they must descend to the son of her hated rival ; and hence a deep melancholy settled on her mind. The enemies of Essex, through fear and envy, had hastened his destruction ; but no sooner was the blow given, than his merits were universally extolled. Elizabeth became sensible she had been deceived. Her courtiers having no longer the superior influence of Essex to dread, grew less respectful and assiduous in their attendance, and all men desirous of preferment, seemed to look forward to her successor. The people caught the temper of the court ; the queen went abroad without the usual acclamations. Her existence itself now seemed a burden. She threw herself on a carpet, where she remained pensive and silent during ten days and nights, leaning on cushions, and holding her finger in her mouth, with her eyes open and fixed on the ground. Her sighs and groans were all expressive of some inward grief, which preyed upon her life. At last, her death visibly approaching, the privy council sent to know her will in regard to her successor. She gave them to understand the King of Scots was the person, and soon after expired.

1603.—Few sovereigns ever swayed the sceptre with more dignity than Elizabeth ; few have enjoyed more uniform pros-

perity; yet, after all her glory and popularity, she lived to fall into neglect; and sank into the grave beneath the pressure of a private grief, accompanied by circumstances of distress, which the wretch on the rack might pity, and which the slave who expires at the oar does not feel.*

CHAPTER XIV.

FRANCE, FROM 1598, TO THE DEATH OF HENRY IV., IN 1610.

No kingdom exempt from the horrors of war, could be more wretched than France at the peace of Vervins. The crown was loaded with debts, the people poor and miserable. To form a regular plan of administration, and to pursue it with success, Henry stood in need of an able and upright minister. He found one in the Marquis de Rosni, whom he created Duke of Sully. Sully seemed formed to be the minister of Henry the IV. By his prudent measures he paid, in the space of five years, all the debts of the crown, augmented the revenue four millions of livres, had four millions in the treasury, and had considerably reduced the taxes. Henry introduced the culture and manufacture of silk into his kingdom; and in 1607, at great expense, but with greater profit, manufactures of linen and tapestry. He built the Pont-neuf, and cut the canal of Briare, which joins the Seine and the Loire; and he had projected the union of the two seas, when a period was put to his life.

1608.—The Duke of Savoy was encouraged by Spain to declare war against Henry, but his estates were overrun, and he was soon obliged to make peace: the Duke of Biron was then engaged in a conspiracy which cost him his head. Many other attempts being made against him, Henry resolved to carry into execution a design, which he had long meditated, of humbling the house of Austria, which he considered as the jealous rival of his glory, and of circumscribing its power in Italy and Germany. While he was maturing that great project, a dispute, concerning the succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers, afforded him a pretext for taking up arms. Rodolph II., son and successor of Maximilian II., had succeeded to the imperial throne, in 1576. The equity of his administration compensated for its weakness. The chief disturbances

* Russel, vol. 3d, p. 85.

which he met with proceeded from his brother Matthias. The Turks, as usual, had invaded Hungary; Matthias had been successful in opposing them, and a peace being concluded, in 1606, with Sultan Achmet, successor of Mahomet II., the Hungarians conferred their crown upon Matthias, who afterwards made himself master of Moravia and Bohemia. Rodolph, ambitious only of extending the empire of science, confirmed to his brother those usurpations, with the succession to the kingdom of Bohemia, where the new opinions had taken deep root. In proportion as Lutheranism gained ground in Hungary and Bohemia, the Protestant princes of the empire became desirous of extending their privileges, and entered into a new confederacy, called the Evangelical Union. This association was opposed by another, formed (in 1609) to protect the ancient faith, under the name of the Catholic League.

The succession to the duchies of Cleves and Juliers roused to arms the heads of the two parties, who may be said to have slumbered since the peace of Passau. John William, Duke of Cleves and Juliers, dying without issue, several competitors arose for the succession, and prepared to support their title by the sword. Rodolph ordered the claimants to appear before him to explain their pretensions, and in the mean time sent his cousin, Leopold, to rule the disputed fiefs in his name, till the right of inheritance should be settled. John Sigismund Elector of Brandenburg, and the Duke of Newburg, alarmed at this step, united against the emperor, and were assisted by the Elector Palatine and the other princes of the evangelical union. In order to be a match for the emperor, who was assisted by the Elector of Saxony, the Pope, and the King of Spain, they applied to the King of France. Henry had only wanted an apology for breaking with the house of Austria. His preparations were vigorous and his negotiations successful. The Duke of Savoy, the Swiss, and the Venetians entered warmly into his views. He assembled an army of 40,000 men, (1610,) and resolved to command it in person; but the queen, Mary of Medicis, appointed regent during his absence, insisted on being solemnly crowned before his departure. Henry consented with an inward dread, arising, no doubt, from the many barbarous attempts which had been made upon his person, the rumours of new conspiracies, and the opportunities which a crowd afforded of putting them into execution. He escaped, however, on that occasion; but the next day, his coach being obstructed in a narrow street, Ravallac, a despe-

rate fanatic, mounted the wheel of his carriage, and stabbed him to the heart, with a knife, over the Duke d'Epemon's shoulder, and amidst six of his courtiers.

France seems only to have been fully sensible of the worth of this monarch, justly styled the "Great," when she had lost him; but in estimating his character, we consider him only in his regal capacity; the libertinism of his private life had a pernicious effect upon the morals of the nation, and tarnished his great qualities; but he always preserved a due respect for religion, and appears to have embraced the Catholic faith from conviction. He received the Jesuits into France, and obliged the Parliament to sanction their establishment in his kingdom by law

CHAPTER XV.

ENGLAND, FROM 1603 TO 1628.

THE English throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, James VI. of Scotland was immediately proclaimed King of England, by the lords of the privy council. This prince was great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII., so that, on the failure of the male line, his hereditary title remained unquestionable. The crown of England, therefore, passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was transmitted from father to son. People of all ranks, forgetting their former hostility towards Scotland, testified their satisfaction with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession even of their native princes. They foresaw greater advantages resulting from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, and the addition of power and consequence which England would derive from it, than inconveniences from submitting to the dominion of a stranger.

James retained most of Elizabeth's ministers in office, among whom Robert Cecil, son to the late lord Burleigh, was regarded as his prime minister and chief counsellor. He created him Earl of Salisbury, and loaded him with honours. Cecil began his ministry by getting rid of several persons peculiarly obnoxious to him, under pretence of their being engaged in a conspiracy to place the king's cousin-german, Arabella Stuart, on the throne of England. Sir Walter Raleigh was one of the principals in this conspiracy, and, though not convicted, was detained prisoner several years in the Tower.

Soon after surmounting this danger, the king was engaged in a scene of business much more suitable to his temper, and in which he was particularly ambitious to make a figure. Of all the qualities that mark his character, he was by none so much distinguished, as by the vanity of being thought to excel in school-learning. In effect, his learning and eloquence were not contemptible; but the one was tinctured with pedantry, and the other with affectation. To decide upon the differences which existed between the Puritans and Protestants, he appointed a conference to be held; but as he was well aware of the hostile dispositions of the former, he always declared himself on the side of the established church, and frequently repeated his favourite maxim, "No bishop, no king." A union of the two kingdoms was also an object which James had much at heart; but the animosity that existed between them could only be allayed by time; and all that he could obtain of Parliament at the present moment, was an appointment of commissioners on both sides, to deliberate on the subject. To procure money from the Commons was still more difficult; but as he soon after concluded a peace with Spain, supplies were less necessary.

Though educated by Puritans,* James entertained favourable ideas of the Catholic religion; and considering his new Catholic subjects as a loyal body, who had been oppressed and heavily aggrieved, he made no secret of his friendly dispositions towards them. The regard which he expressed for them at the opening of the Parliament, raised their expectations of seeing the penal statutes repealed, at the same time that it gave great umbrage to the Puritans. They beset the throne with declaimers against popery; ministers supported the popular clamour, and spoke loudly of public dangers, arising from the machinations of Jesuits and popish priests. James, unwilling to offend his Protestant subjects, published an order for all priests to quit the kingdom; and, by another proclamation, he affirmed the ecclesiastical government, and book of common prayer. This put an end to the flattering hopes the Catholics had entertained since the beginning of the reign. They were disappointed; but their disappointment neither lessened the loyalty of that body at large, nor stimulated revenge. Some few individuals, indeed, being actuated with

* After the imprisonment of his mother, James was placed in the hands of the reformists, and had the celebrated Scotch historian Buchanan for his preceptor. This violent Puritan and bitter enemy of the unfortunate Mary died in 1582. Hume and Robertson have inherited his prejudices.

a diabolical desire of revenge upon that occasion, entered into one of the most execrable plots that history has recorded; it is commonly called the Gunpowder Plot, the design of which was, to blow up the royal family and both Houses of Parliament, at the very time that the king addressed them from the throne. The atrocity of the treason, and the manner in which it was carried on to the time of its disclosure, leaves little room to doubt that the whole was a political contrivance of Cecil, who had been profoundly lettered in that kind of mischief by his intriguing father, in order to furnish government with a pretext for persecuting the Catholics. Tresham, one of the conspirators, was well acquainted with Cecil, and is known to have had some communication with him concerning the affairs of the Catholics: at the disclosure of the plot, he never attempted to escape, presuming, no doubt, that he was sufficiently protected at court, but, on the contrary, offered his services to apprehend the conspirators. Being, however, seized upon and committed to the Tower, he met with a sudden death in the course of a few days, before any examination of him had taken place. The physician who attended him pronounced that he died of poison. But whether the treason originated with those wretched men who visibly laboured for its execution, or was suggested to them by Tresham as an emissary of the minister,* the guilt of a few deluded, rash men could not stigmatize the loyalty of the Catholic body at large. The number of the conspirators was only twelve;† five more were executed as having been privy to the plot and not revealing it; among these were two Jesuits, F. F. Garnet, and Tesmond or Greenway, the first of whom was only made acquainted with it under the seal of confession, and did all in his power to prevent it; the second suffered for harbouring him: a third, by name F. Gerard, who was suspected, on account of his personal knowledge of some of those who were let into the secret, made his escape. No proofs of his guilt could be produced; and in a letter written to the Right Rev. Dr. Smith, he solemnly protests his entire ignorance of the plot till its detection.‡ But that Cecil aimed at involving per-

* See Dodd, vol. 2, p. 395, and his authorities: also Mem. Miss. Priests, vol. 2, p. 476.

† Among these, seven only appear to have been acquainted with the worst part of it, viz. Catesby, Piercy, Fawkes, Winter, Keyes, Bates, and Tresham. See the presumptive proofs of the supposition of Cecil's knowledge of the conspiracy, in Reeve's *Christ. Church*, vol. 2, century 17th, chap. 2, 3, and 4.

‡ This letter is inserted in Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, p. 513, in Roma, 1667.

sons of greater respectability than the rash youths that were engaged in the plot, is evident from the letter written to Lord Monteagle, a young Catholic peer, and which led to its discovery. Had Monteagle concealed this anonymous letter, which warned him not to attend Parliament on the fatal day, there is no doubt that all the other twenty Catholic peers, who then sat in Parliament, would have received similar advertisements. But he immediately carried it to the secretary himself, who was thereupon obliged to dissolve his plot prematurely. Still, however, he waited till the very day (November 5, 1605) before the sessions, to examine the vault beneath the Parliament-house. The king having by supposed inspiration been enlightened as to the nature of the plot, every thing was then found as Cecil expected; the conspirators were arrested, and soon destroyed, either fighting or on the scaffold.

The Earl of Salisbury and the Puritans had now succeeded in their malicious schemes against the Catholics. So sensible was James of the advantages which his minister reaped from the plot, that he ever afterwards called the 5th November, *Cecil's Holiday*.

The conduct of James in Ireland was characterized by an unexpected hostility. The Irish, viewing in him a descendant of their ancient kings, hailed his accession with joy, and soon despatched envoys to solicit freedom to practise the religion of their ancestors. Not only was all toleration refused, but the deputies were cast into prison for their presumption, and all succeeding monarchs followed the precedent thus set by James. His next step was an attempt to entrap the Earl of Tyrone, and when that nobleman fled and O'Dogherty revolted, James's joy was unbounded, as it required then but a few lines from a willing parliament, to declare forfeited to himself, two millions of acres in the north of Ireland. This he granted out chiefly to his countrymen, and as his wholesale robbery did not impress the Irish with any great reverence for English laws, an army was needed to protect the new settlers. It was to raise money to support this guard, that James created and sold the title of baronet; the price being one thousand pounds. His plan succeeded, and this colony, with its severely disciplined army, did much to introduce and maintain English laws, land tenures, and judicial proceedings. Deeming that his system of robbery and violence had civilized the Irish nation, James and his flatterers always boasted of this as the masterpiece of his reign. A few trifling improvements were indeed introduced, but on the whole Ireland lost rather than gained. While the king was thus busi-

bly employed, the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, in the eighteenth year of his age, cast a general gloom over the prospects of the nation. This prince seems to have possessed great and real merit. Neither his high birth nor his youth had seduced him into any irregular pleasures: business and ambition were his sole delight; his disposition was strongly turned to war. The French ambassador, taking leave of him, and asking his commands for France, found him employed in the exercise of the pike. "Tell your king," said Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged."

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederic, Elector Palatine, which soon after took place, served to dissipate the grief which the death of the prince had occasioned throughout the whole kingdom. The court of James, at this period, produced various incidents, which had a considerable effect on public opinion, if not on public happiness. James, amongst many other weaknesses, had one in particular, which drew upon him the odium of the nation; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and undeserving favourites. About the end of 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of a good family in Scotland, first appeared in the English court. The charms of his person and the elegance of his manners soon won the heart of James, and, in a short time, he was successively knighted, created Viscount Rochester, and honoured with the garter. Intoxicated, however, by good fortune, he soon gave himself up to the indulgence of every criminal passion, and in a short time he was freed from all restraint by the death of his former friend and counsellor, Sir Thomas Overbury, who is supposed to have fallen by poison, administered at the instigation of the earl and his lady.

1614.—Every effort having been made to raise money by virtue of the prerogative, and always without success, a Parliament was again called; but that assembly, instead of granting a supply, began with disputing the king's power to levy customs and taxes. His majesty was so provoked, that he dissolved them without obtaining the object of their convocation. About this period Sir Walter Raleigh, whose enterprising spirit had not been broken by an imprisonment of thirteen years, taking advantage of the abated resentment of his enemies, and of the favourable impression of the public, spread a report that he knew of a rich gold mine in Guiana, hoping by this means to recover his liberty; Raleigh was accordingly released from prison, but without pardon, and obtained permission to embark in the hazardous enterprise. No sooner

was he arrived, than he sent a detachment under the command of his son and of Captain Kemys, who were fired upon at their landing. The Spaniards had formed a small settlement on the river Oronoko, and built a town called St. Thomas. Raleigh was either not aware of this circumstance before his setting out, or he affected total ignorance of it. The young Raleigh, irritated by his reception, pursued the enemy into the town, which was reduced to ashes; but a shot carried him off in the midst of his career, and Kemys could not be prevailed upon to proceed. Returning to his vessel, he retired to his cabin, and put an end to his life in despair. The other adventurers, thinking themselves duped by Raleigh, hastened back to England, carrying their leader with them. Raleigh was tried, declared guilty, and the warrant for his execution signed upon the former sentence. He met the blow with resolution; his address to the people was calm and eloquent; and with the utmost indifference he laid his head on the block, and received the fatal stroke.

In order to hasten the match between the Princess of Spain and his heir-apparent, James despatched the Earl of Bristol to Philip IV., and matters were, apparently, in a fair train of settlement, when every flattering prospect was blasted by the temerity of Buckingham. The young and ardent mind of Prince Charles eagerly embraced the scheme proposed by Buckingham, of proceeding to Madrid in disguise; and the king having unguardedly given his consent, they set out on this romantic expedition. The Spanish monarch treated Charles with the most flattering attentions; but according to the established etiquette, the infanta was only shown to him in public until a dispensation should arrive from Rome. In the mean time Gregory XV. died, and the refusal of the nuncio to deliver the dispensation until it should be renewed by his successor, Urban VIII., caused various delays. The King of England, as well as the prince, became impatient, and the latter, taking his leave, embarked on board the English fleet at St. Andrew, and returned to England. Buckingham, during his residence in Spain, had incurred the hatred of the Spaniards, and he, probably, feeling reciprocal animosity for them, concurred with the prince in putting an end to the long-protracted negotiation. James having reluctantly entered into the views of the favourite, all thoughts of a union with the infanta were forever laid aside. Soon after this, a treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and Henrietta of France being proposed, James entered into the negotiation with so much

ardour, that it was soon brought to a favourable conclusion. James did not long survive the commencement of hostilities for the recovery of the Palatinate. He met death with calmness and fortitude, in the 59th year of his age, and the 22d of his reign over England, March 27th, 1625. The character of James has been variously represented. As a man, he is allowed to have possessed some good qualities; he had a considerable share of learning and abilities, but wanting sincerity, as well as that vigour of mind and dignity of manner so essential to the character of a sovereign: as a monarch, he was certainly contemptible. His disposition, naturally lenient, inclined him to alleviate the sufferings of his Catholic subjects, and moderate the fanatical zeal of the puritanical party. Though the prisons were crowded with priests, yet, during the lapse of eleven years, from 1607 to 1618, only sixteen suffered as traitors for the exercise of their functions: but the statute enacted in 1606* had severely aggravated the sufferings of the lay Catholics. The proposal of an ambiguous oath of allegiance, which was received in general by the secular clergy, and by their superior, the Arch-priest Blackwall, rejected mostly by the regulars, and finally censured by the Pope, (Paul V.,) increased the difficulty of their situation. The fines of recusancy continued to be levied with rigour; they were continually summoned to take the disputed oath, and non-attendance was visited with excommunication, and the civil consequences of that ecclesiastical sentence; while the refusal of the oath subjected them to perpetual imprisonment, and the penalties of a *præmunire*.

During the latter part of the reign of James, the great seal was in the hands of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, a man universally admired for the sublimity of his genius, but who had made himself obnoxious to censure by the easiness of his disposition, and the irregular means he had used to obtain money, less indeed on his own account, than to gratify his dependents, whose importunities he could not resist. Being impeached by the Commons, the Peers sentenced him to pay a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned in the Tower, and to be forever incapable of holding any office, place, or employment. Bacon, however, was soon released from prison, his fine was remitted, and, in consideration of his intrinsic worth, received a pension of eighteen hundred pounds a year. The short remainder of his life was spent in literary avoca-

* See the severe penalties enacted by this statute, in Lingard's History of England, reign of James I.

tions; and in the greatness of his talents, posterity have almost forgotten that he had the weaknesses and the failings of a man.

Charles I., son of James, mounted the throne in the flower of his age. He immediately hastened to call a Parliament, to whom he frankly explained the nature of the engagements he had made with his father, and the sums that would be necessary to discharge them, particularly with regard to the operations of the war. But all his efforts were vain; no supplies were to be obtained, and Charles, in order to supply the want of parliamentary aid, was obliged to have recourse to the desperate and unconstitutional method of issuing privy seals, for borrowing money of his subjects, and of reviving the taxes on tonnage and poundage; a loan was also required both from the nobility and the city; and the counties, as well as the capital, were compelled to equip a certain number of ships. This mode of taxation was afterwards productive of very violent discontents. The people complained loudly of the loans which were extorted from them under various forms; the Commons enumerated the encroachments that had been made on their constitutional liberties, under the name of a "Petition of Rights;" they recurred to the duties of tonnage and poundage, which could only be relinquished for an equivalent which was never offered; and when the question was about to be put on this subject, the speaker rose and declared, "that he had it in command from the king to adjourn." A few days after, the Parliament was dissolved; and it was evident that the king now intended to emancipate himself forever from the control of Parliaments, and to reign without them.

CHAPTER XVI.

EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF HENRY IV., TO THE TREATY OF PRAGUE, IN 1635.

THE two great confederacies, called the Catholic League and the Evangelical Union, appeared to be dissolved with the death of Henry IV.; but the Elector of Brandenburg and his adherents expelled Leopold, and took possession of Cleves and Juliers by force of arms. In this petty quarrel, Spain and the United Provinces interested themselves, and the two greatest generals in Europe were once more opposed to each other;

Spinola on the part of the Duke of Newburg, who had renounced Lutheranism, and Maurice on the side of the Elector of Brandenburg, who introduced Calvinism into his dominions, to attach the Dutch to his cause.

1612.—This year died Rodolph II.; he was succeeded by his brother Matthias. The Turks now entered Transylvania: but the extent of the Ottoman dominions, which had so alarmed Christendom, proved its safety. The young and ambitious Achmet, who hoped to signalize the beginning of his reign by the conquest of Hungary, was obliged to recall his forces from that quarter, in order to protect the eastern frontier of his empire; and Matthias obtained, without striking a blow, a peace as advantageous as he could have expected after the most successful war.

He stipulated for the restitution of Agria, Pest, Buda, and every other place held by the Turks in Hungary.

1617.—Matthias procured his cousin, Ferdinand de Gratz, Duke of Stiria, to be elected King of Bohemia and acknowledged in Hungary, and he engaged the Spanish branch of the house of Austria to renounce all pretensions to those crowns. This family compact alarmed the Evangelical Union, and occasioned the revolt of the Hungarians and Bohemians. Thus was kindled a furious civil war, which was not extinguished till the peace of Westphalia. Amid these disorders died the Emperor Matthias, (in 1619,) and Ferdinand de Gratz was raised to the vacant throne. The Bohemians chose Frederic V. Elector Palatine. Frederic, seduced by his flatterers, unwisely accepted of the crown, notwithstanding the remonstrances of James I. of England, his father-in-law. Frederic was seconded by most of the Protestant princes; but Ferdinand, assisted by the Catholic princes of the empire, by the King of Spain and the Archduke Albert, was more than a match for his enemies. Frederic was totally routed near Prague, (1620,) and degraded from his electoral dignity, which was conferred on the Duke of Bavaria.

While the house of Austria was thus extending its authority in Germany, the Spanish branch of that family was endeavouring to render itself absolute in Italy. In the midst of these ambitious schemes, to which he was himself little inclined, died Philip III., 1621. Philip IV., his son and successor, was more enterprising, and the abilities of Olivarez, the new minister, were far superior to those of the Duke of Lerma, who had directed all in the last reign. The ambition of Olivarez was yet greater than his capacity. He made his master assume

the surname of Great, and thought himself bound to justify this appellation. He hoped to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had been so long struggling. In prosecution of this bold plan, he resolved to maintain the closest alliance with the emperor; to make him despotic in Germany, to keep possession of the Valtelline, to humble the Italian powers, and reduce the United Provinces to subjection, the truce being now expired.

The minority of Lewis XIII. had been a constant scene of faction and domestic broils. In 1620, Lewis having, by a solemn edict, united the principality of Bearn, the hereditary estate of his family, to the crown of France, attempted to re-establish the Catholic religion in that province. The Huguenots, alarmed, assembled at Rochelle and determined to erect a republic after the example of the Protestants in the Low Countries: but upon a confirmation of the edict of Nantes, peace was again concluded, in 1622. The French councils now began to assume more vigour. Cardinal Richelieu no sooner got a share in the administration, than, turning his eyes on the state of Europe, he formed three mighty projects; to subdue the turbulent spirit of the French nobility, to reduce the rebellious Huguenots, and to curb the power of the house of Austria. Hence it was necessary to keep peace with England, and Richelieu accordingly negotiated a treaty of marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and Henrietta Maria, sister of Lewis XIII.: he also negotiated with England and Holland that alliance which brought on hostilities with Spain. (1624.) In consequence of these negotiations, preparations were made for the restoration of the Palatine, and Christian IV. of Denmark was declared head of the confederation. About the same time, a French army, with the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy, recovered the Valtelline, which had been sequestered to the Pope, and restored it to the Grisons.

Meanwhile, the house of Austria was neither inactive nor unfortunate. Spinola reduced Breda, one of the strongest towns in the Netherlands, in spite of all the efforts of Prince Maurice, who died of chagrin before the place surrendered. The English failed in their attempt upon Cadiz, the embarkation of their troops at Dover proved abortive, and the King of Denmark was defeated by the Imperialists near Northheim. This ill success of the English cooled their ardour for foreign enterprises, and Richelieu found for a time enough to occupy his genius at home. He had not only to quiet the Huguenots, who again rebelled, but a powerful faction at court to oppose.

Not one prince of the blood was heartily his friend. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the king's brother, was his declared enemy; the queen-mother herself was jealous of him, and Lewis was attached to him rather from motives of interest than of affection. But the bold and ambitious spirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obstacle; it discovered and dissipated the cabals formed against him, and at length made him absolute master of the king and kingdom.

1627.—During these cabals in the French court, the Huguenots showed once more a disposition to render themselves independent, and in that spirit they were encouraged by the court of England. As Lewis XIII. was wholly governed by Richelieu, and Philip IV. by Olivarez, Charles I. was in like manner governed by the Duke of Buckingham, who now engaged his master to declare war against France. The Huguenots had been deprived of many of their cautionary towns, and forts were erecting in order to bridle Rochelle, their most considerable bulwark. Buckingham appeared before that place with an army of 7,000 men, and a fleet of a hundred sail; but so ill contrived were his measures, that the inhabitants of that city shut their gates against him, and refused to admit allies of whose coming they were not previously informed. This blunder was followed by another. Instead of attacking Oleron, a fertile island and defenceless, he made a descent on the Isle of Rhé, well garrisoned and fortified. He allowed the governor to amuse him with a negotiation, till the principal fort was provided for a siege; and guarded the sea so negligently, that a French army stole over in small divisions and obliged him to retreat to his ships. He was the last man that embarked, and having lost two-thirds of his forces, returned to England, bringing home with him no reputation but that of personal courage. This ill-concerted enterprise proved fatal to the power of the French Protestants. The siege of Rochelle was now regularly formed, and conducted with vigour by Lewis and the cardinal in person. The latter, finding it impossible to reduce the place, while the communication remained open by sea, attempted to shut up the harbour by stakes and by a boom. These methods proving ineffectual, he recollected what Alexander had performed at the siege of Tyre, and finished a mole of a mile's length across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with an impetuosity that seemed to bid defiance to all the works of man. The place being now blockaded on all sides, the inhabitants were obliged to surrender, after suffering all the miseries of famine and war during a

siege of almost twelve months. Cardinal Richelieu then marched against the Protestants in the other provinces of France; destroyed all their fortifications, and took from them their cautionary towns, but confirmed to them the possession of their estates and other privileges. From this era we may date the aggrandisement of the French monarchy in latter times, and the absolute power of its princes. Richelieu's system, however, was not yet complete. No sooner had he subdued the Protestants in France, than he resolved to support them in Germany, that he might be enabled by their means to set bounds to the power of the house of Austria.

Ferdinand II., whom we have seen triumphant over the Palatine and the Evangelical Union, continued to carry every thing before him in the empire. The King of Denmark and the League in Lower Saxony were unable to withstand his armies under Tilly and Wallenstein. The Danish monarch, after repeated defeats, was obliged to sue for peace, and the emperor found himself possessed of absolute authority. But Ferdinand attempting to revive the imperial jurisdiction in Italy, Richelieu passed the Alps at the head of 20,000 men, gained several advantages over the Spaniards and Imperialists, and obliged the emperor to grant the investiture of Mantua and Montserrat to the Duke of Nevers. (1630.) The Duke of Savoy and Spinola died during these transactions, and an accommodation between France and the empire was partly negotiated by Julio Mazarin, who now first appeared on the theatre of the world as an ecclesiastic and a politician. The Protestants, in the mean time, secretly formed an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. Eric Vasa, the son and successor of Gustavus, proving a dissolute and cruel prince, had been dethroned and imprisoned by the states of Sweden in 1568. He was succeeded by his brother John, who, after attempting in vain to re-establish the Catholic religion, died in 1592, and left the crown to his son Sigismund, already elected King of Poland. Sigismund, like his father, being a zealous Catholic, the Swedes deposed him, and raised to the sovereignty his uncle, Charles IX. The Poles attempted, in vain, to restore Sigismund to the throne of Sweden: Charles swayed the sceptre till his death, and was succeeded in 1611 by his son, the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus.

Russia, during that period, was a prey to civil wars. John Basilowitz II. dying, left two sons, Theodore and Demetrius. Theodore succeeded his father on the throne, and, at the instigation of Boris, his prime minister, ordered his brother Deme-

trius to be murdered. He himself died soon after, and Boris was proclaimed sovereign. Meanwhile a young man appeared in Lithuania, under the name and character of Prince Demetrius, pretending that he had escaped out of the hands of the assassin. Assisted by a Polish army, he entered Moscow in 1605, and was proclaimed Czar without opposition, Boris being now dead. This Demetrius was, on the day of his marriage, slain, with most of his Polish attendants, who had rendered him obnoxious to the Russians; and Zuski, a nobleman who had fomented the insurrection, was declared his successor. But scarcely was Zuski seated on the throne, when a second Demetrius made his appearance, and after his death a third. Poland and Sweden took part in the quarrel, Zuski was delivered up to the Poles, and Demetrius was massacred by the Tartars. But a fourth and even a fifth Demetrius appeared, and Russia, during these struggles, was repeatedly ravaged by opposite factions and foreign troops. At length, Michael Theodorowitz, son of Romanow, Bishop of Roston, afterwards patriarch, related, in the female line, to the Czar John Basilowitz, was raised to the throne; and this prince having concluded a peace with Sweden and Poland in 1618, restored tranquillity to Russia, and transmitted the crown to his descendants.

Denmark affords nothing that merits our attention during the reign of Frederic II., who succeeded his father, Christian III., in 1558; nor during the reign of his son and successor, Christian IV., before he was chosen General of the League in Lower Saxony. Sweden alone, during those times, of all the northern kingdoms, yields a spectacle worthy of observation. No sooner was Gustavus seated on the throne, though only eighteen years of age at his accession, than he signalized himself by his exploits against the Danes, the ancient enemies of his crown. In a war against Russia, he subdued almost all Finland, and secured to himself the possession of his conquests by a treaty. His cousin, Sigismond, King of Poland, refusing peace when offered by Gustavus, the latter overran Livonia, Prussia, and Pomerania. An advantageous truce of six years, concluded with Poland, in 1629, gave him leisure to make war against the emperor, for which his chief motives were his love of glory and his zeal for Lutheranism. He laid his design before the states of Sweden, and negotiated with France, England, and Holland. (1630.) Charles I. sent him supplies of men, and Richelieu promised an annual subsidy of 1,200,000 livres. Gustavus entered Pomerania, and made himself master of

Frankfort-on-the-Oder, Colberg, and several other places. To put an end to the irresolution of the Protestant Princes, who were afraid to join him, he summoned the Elector of Brandenburg to declare himself openly in three days, but receiving an evasive answer, he marched directly to Berlin. This conduct had the desired effect. The gates were thrown open, and he was received as a friend. He was soon after joined by the Landgrave of Hesse and the Elector of Saxony. In 1631 he marched towards Leipsic, where Tilly lay encamped. That experienced general advanced into the plains of Breitenfeld, where Gustavus, by his conduct and the superior valour of the Swedes, gained a complete victory. The conqueror was now joined by all the members of the Evangelical Union, and made himself master of the whole country from the Elb to the Rhine, comprehending near 100 leagues, full of fortified towns. In the mean time, the Elector of Saxony entered Bohemia and took Prague, and Tilly was killed in disputing with the Swedes the passage of the Lech. The next year, 1632, Gustavus reduced Augsburg, and there re-established Lutheranism. He then marched into Bavaria and took Munich. During these transactions, the renowned imperial general, Wallenstein, who had been for some time in disgrace, but was now restored to the chief command, recovered Prague and the greatest part of Bohemia. Gustavus offered him battle, near Nuremberg, but he declined it; the king was repulsed in attempting to force his entrenchments, and a masterly retreat alone could save him from a total overthrow. That service was chiefly performed by an old Scotch colonel, named Hepburn, who had resigned his commission in disgust, but was present at this assault. To him Gustavus applied in his distress, and trusting to the colonel's natural generosity, he was not deceived. Hepburn's pride overcame his resentment: he rushed into the thickest of the battle, delivered the orders of Gustavus to his army, and conducted the retreat with so much order and ability, that the Imperialists durst not give him the smallest disturbance. Gustavus afterwards attacked Wallenstein in the wide plain of Lutzen, near Leipsic, where a great battle was fought, and the Swedish monarch lost his life in the height of a complete victory, which was improved by Bernard of Saxe Weymar, his lieutenant-general. The Swedes, though victorious, were overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of their heroic prince, whose daughter and successor was only six years of age. A council of regency, however, being appointed, and the management of the war committed to the Chancellor

Oxenstiern, the Protestant confederacy still wore a formidable aspect; hostilities were continued during the following year with vigour and success, by the Generals Banner and Horn.

1634.—The emperor now became jealous of the vast power he had granted to Wallenstein, and resolved to deprive him of the command; and Wallenstein, perhaps, to prevent his disgrace, is said to have concerted the means of a revolt. It is at least certain that he was assassinated, and was succeeded in the command of the Imperial army by the emperor's eldest son, the King of Hungary. Both armies were reinforced from every quarter, and met again, after various success, near Nordlingen, in Swabia; where was fought one of the most obstinate and bloody battles recorded in history, and where the Swedes were totally routed, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. This defeat threw the members of the Evangelical Union into the utmost consternation and despair, and brought on a treaty which was signed at Prague, (1635,) by all the Protestant princes, except the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. By this treaty, the exercise of the Protestant religion was freely permitted in all the dominions of the empire, except the Kingdom of Bohemia, and the provinces belonging to the house of Austria; and a mutual restitution was to take place of all that had been conquered since the irruption of Gustavus into the empire.

CHAPTER XVII.

ENGLAND, FROM 1628, TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I., IN 1649.

THE ill success of the enterprise against Rochelle helped to increase the discontents of the English; their commerce, which had been injured by the Spanish, was ruined by the French war, while the glory of the nation was tarnished, and its safety threatened, by the forces of two powerful monarchies. At such a season, Charles and Buckingham must have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a Parliament; yet the necessity of supply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourse to that expedient. It was soon found that the new members were equally independent with the old, and that the resentment of past injuries was neither weakened nor forgotten; yet they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum, than vigour and ability. A vote was unanimously passed against arbitrary imprisonments, and

forced loans. In return for this concession, a supply of five subsidies was voted with apparent good will, but though voted, was not immediately passed into a law, and the Commons were resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers to their liberties so lately violated. An immunity from such invasion they alleged to be the inherent right of the subject; therefore, the demand was denominated a "*Petition of right*." As this seemed to infringe the prerogative, it was not without much difficulty and many evasions, that the royal assent could be obtained. The Commons continued their scrutiny into every department of government, and made so many demands, that Charles, finding that one concession only led to others, suddenly prorogued the Parliament.

An armament having been prepared for the relief of Rochelle, Buckingham repaired to Portsmouth, resolved once more to display his prowess on the coast of France; but this enterprise was obstructed by an enthusiast, named Thomas Felton, who having met with some disappointment in his hopes of promotion, inflamed with resentment, and taught by the public voice to consider Buckingham as the cause of all the national grievances, assassinated him while he was conversing with some officers.

1629.—The Parliament assembled again, in January, when they proceeded to question the legality of levying tonnage and poundage, without the consent of the representatives of the people, a right which they had not granted to the king, though it had been given to each of his predecessors, since Henry V., and had usually been voted by the first Parliament of each reign. But, determined to reduce Charles to a state of dependence, instead of conferring it on him for life, they had only voted it for one year. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the contested duties; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the Parliament with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he could see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation. He ordered those popular leaders who had been most active in the late tumult in the House of Commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find sureties for their good behaviour. In the midst of so many domestic difficulties, and utterly destitute of money, Charles submitted to necessity, and concluded a peace with France and Spain. (1630.) Sir

Thomas Wentworth, created Earl of Stafford, whom he had detached from the republican party, became now his prime minister. The eminent abilities and unshaken fidelity of this nobleman, merited all the confidence which his royal master reposed in him; but in proportion as he became honoured at court, he was detested by the opposite party. The alliance of Charles with a Catholic princess, had procured the Catholics a temporary relief from the penal laws. Some of the Protestant bishops, particularly Laud, when he was advanced to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury in 1633, seemed to favour Catholic principles. The king's preachers openly commended them from the pulpit. This show of moderation in the Protestant clergy, furnished the dissenters with ample matter of declamation against the Catholic as well as the established church. They represented both as the enemies of liberty, and the obstinate supporters of the high prerogatives of the crown. *Popery*, the watchword of popular commotions, never failed of its effect. In this the puritanic faction had a double view; the one to draw the attention of government from the dissenters, the other to stigmatize the Catholics, by charging them with the very traitorous design, which they themselves were preparing to execute.

In the mean time, it appeared that Charles was resolved to reign without a Parliament. He continued his unconstitutional expedient of raising money; compositions were made with nonconformists; the Star Chamber and high commission court exercised their arbitrary severities upon several offenders, who only gloried in their sufferings, and contributed to render government odious and contemptible. Among the other taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied upon the whole kingdom. (1637.) It was refused by a private gentleman named John Hampden, though the sum at which he was rated did not exceed twenty shillings. His cause was argued in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges in England; he lost it, but the applauses of the people more than recompensed his conduct. Hampden died fighting against his king in 1643.

While the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous spirit made its appearance in Scotland. Charles pursued his father's system of introducing episcopacy into that kingdom, and with that view visited his native country in 1633, and made a violent attempt to get his authority acknowledged there in ecclesiastical matters. His proclamation to order the use of the liturgy, (1637,) occasioned

the formation of the famous association known by the name of the *Covenant*, in which were comprehended all orders of men in the state. It required an engagement upon oath to defend the Presbyterian worship against Popery, and to reject all innovations whatever. To enable him to oppose the Scotch rebels, Charles was obliged to call an English Parliament, after an interval of eleven years. (1640.) The Commons, as might have been expected, insisted that the redress of grievances should be taken first into consideration; and Charles, finding his friends in the House outnumbered by his enemies, came to the hasty resolution of dissolving this Parliament, as he had done the preceding ones. Frustrated in the hope of a legitimate supply, he was obliged to have recourse to other measures to oppose the Covenanters, who, having taken a detachment of the king's troops, had made themselves masters of Newcastle. The Earl of Strafford opposed all conciliatory measures, and advised the king to hazard a battle, but his advice was not followed. A conference was entered upon by commissioners of both parties, and a treaty agreed upon. In compliance with the general wish of his subjects, Charles again assembled a Parliament. Its first measure was to impeach his minister, Strafford. Twenty-eight articles were exhibited against this unfortunate nobleman, and a committee appointed to scrutinize his conduct in every particular. Strafford was at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,* which he governed as a conquered kingdom. During his administration as deputy, when Lord Wentworth, complaints of his harsh, imperious, and unjust conduct, had reached the ear of the English monarch; but his influence over the mind of his royal master was proof against all the efforts of his enemies. On the present occasion, the Irish committee were directed to address themselves to the king; but they seem to have been privately instructed to apply to the English House of Commons. Contrary to his own sentiments, and relying on the protection and promises of the king, by whose authority he seems to have acted, Strafford attended Parliament and was immediately arrested. Though no distinct charge of high

* At the beginning of Charles's reign, while Lord Falkland was deputy, the Irish Catholics met with some indulgence. But it was of short duration. The Puritans beset the English cabinet with complaints of his administration, and the king sacrificed a faithful servant to the intrigues of enemies. Falkland was recalled. Under his successors, Viscount Ely and the Earl of Cork, two lord justices, the penal statutes were rigorously enforced and a system of terrorism again adopted.

treason could be proved against him, he was declared guilty, and his death was demanded with the loudest clamours by an incensed populace. The king at last reluctantly signified his consent by a bill of commission, and the earl was beheaded at Tower-hill. (1641.) Charles soon after sanctioned a bill still more fatal to his interests, by which Parliament could neither be adjourned nor dissolved without their own consent. The right of granting tonnage and poundage was forever vested in the Commons; the Star-Chamber and high commission courts were abolished; the demolition of crucifixes, altars, and images, enacted; all religious ceremonies rejected as savouring of Popery; triennial Parliaments established, and, in short, the kingly power reduced almost to a shadow. Charles soon after visited Scotland, where he sanctioned all the decrees of the Covenanters; but while he was thus conciliating the affections of his Scottish subjects, he received intelligence that a rebellion had broken out in Ireland. Goaded by the persecutions of the Puritans, who were headed by the Lords Chief Justices Parsons and Borlase, and threatened the extinction of loyalty as well as of the Catholic religion, the Irish broke out into open rebellion, and retaliated upon their oppressors the cruelties which they themselves had so dreadfully experienced. Instead of assisting the loyal Catholics to suppress the northern insurgents, the lords justices employed all their power to drive the rest of the kingdom into a similar insurrection, for the base purpose of sequestrating the estates of those who should engage in it. Charles, unable to put a stop to these disorders, once more applied to the Commons; who, instead of affording assistance, insinuated that he had himself fomented the rebellion. Every measure pursued by them from this time evinced their determined resolution to subvert the whole civil and religious government. Their first attack was against episcopacy, which they knew to be one of the strongest bulwarks of the regal power; they impeached thirteen bishops for high treason, which measure induced their lordships all to leave the House, having entered a protest against every thing that should be transacted in their absence. A precipitate impeachment of five of the most turbulent members by the king in person, completed his unpopularity, and his subsequent submission to his Commons rendered him contemptible. Taking with him his two sons, he retired to York: the queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to the Prince of Orange.

On the appearance of civil commotion in England, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, sons to the unfortunate Palatine, and nephews to Charles, offered him their services. The former was made general of the horse. The king erected his royal standard in 1641, and invited all his faithful subjects to come forward in defence of his crown. The Catholics, though fettered with penal laws for their religion, and branded with the repute of disaffection towards a Protestant sovereign, hastened among the foremost to testify their loyalty. They levied troops at their own expense, they sacrificed their property and lives for the king and constitution, and this at a time when many of their clergy were iniquitously dragged to prison, and from prison to the gallows, merely for their religion.

1642.—Edge Hill, in Warwickshire, was the first place where the two armies were drawn out in array: the Earl of Essex commanded the parliamentary forces. After an engagement of some hours, they separated with nearly equal loss. The first campaign was favourable to the king, but the Parliament was not discouraged. They united in a league of mutual defence with the Scotch Covenanters, while Charles received a reinforcement of Irish troops. In order to preserve the appearance of a Parliament, the king had summoned to Oxford (1644) the members who adhered to his interest. A great majority of peers attended him, but the Commons were scarcely half so numerous as those who sat at Westminster. An account of the different battles and skirmishes that took place between the two armies, during the space of eight years, would far exceed our narrow limits. The battle of Marston Moor was the beginning of the king's misfortunes. The Scottish and parliamentary army had united, and were besieging York, when Prince Rupert determined to give them battle. The Royalists were opposed by Oliver Cromwell, who now came into notice, and succeeded in breaking their right wing. They returned to a second engagement, no less furious than the first. The king's artillery was taken, and his army pushed off the field. Prince Rupert retired to Lancashire, and Lord Fairfax (a parliamentary general) fixed his residence in York, while the Scottish army, marching north, laid siege to Newcastle, and carried it by assault. Archbishop Laud, who had long been confined in the Tower, was this year (1645) sacrificed to the vengeance of his enemies.

In the mean time a new sect began to discover itself among the Presbyterians, called the Independents; their aim

was a total abolition of the monarchical, and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. Of course, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, which had been so often made by the king. The obstinate battle which decided the fate of Charles, was fought at Naseby, a village in Yorkshire, on the 14th of June. The king himself commanded the main body of the royal army, and displayed in the action all the conduct of an experienced general, and all the courage of a gallant soldier. Victory, however, declared for Cromwell; near 5,000 of the royalists were taken prisoners, and all their baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy. After the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs went to ruin so fast in all quarters, that he sent the Prince of Wales abroad to join the queen his mother at Paris, while he himself retreated into Wales, in hopes of raising a body of troops in that loyal but exhausted country. In the mean time, the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom. Prince Rupert, who had thrown himself into Bristol, had promised to hold out four months, yet he surrendered at the first summons. Charles, astonished at this unexpected event, recalled the prince's commissions, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. To crown the king's misfortunes, the gallant Marquis of Montrose, who, with a body of Highlanders, had for some time supported the royal cause in Scotland, was this year defeated. The civil war continued in Ireland, long after the king had commanded a cessation of arms, and appointed his deputy, the Marquis of Ormond, to negotiate with the confederated Irish. Though thoroughly convinced of their loyalty, this nobleman, unwilling to concede in full the demands of the Irish Catholics, who stipulated for the free exercise of their religion, delayed the peace till it was rendered unavailing, by the imprisonment of his majesty. It was not concluded till 1648.

Afraid of falling into the hands of his insolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, Charles (in 1646) resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the Scots: without sufficiently reflecting, that he must by such a step disgust his English subjects of all denominations, and that the Scottish covenanters were not only his declared enemies, but were now acting as auxiliaries to the English Parliament. The Scottish generals affected great surprise at the appearance of Charles, though previously acquainted with his design; and while they treated him with the exterior respect due to his dignity, they

made him in reality a prisoner, and soon after (1647) delivered him up to the English Parliament, on condition of being paid their arrears, which were compounded at £400,000 sterling.

The civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country, and every one submitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the Parliament was of short duration. The power of the Independents became daily greater; and having obtained the command of the army, tumbled the Parliament from its slippery throne. This was the crisis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatness; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. Heavy taxes excited discontents among the people, and the army, though commanded by Parliament, was unwilling to disband. In opposition, that of Westminster, a kind of military parliament was formed, consisting of a council of the principal officers and of two private men from each troop or company, under the title of *Agitators*. Still more to strengthen their party, they sent a party of horse to Holmby Castle in Northumberland, where the king was confined, who conducted the monarch to the rendezvous of the army near Cambridge. Charles was more inclined to negotiate with the council of officers than with the Parliament, whose rigour he had severely felt, because the former neither insisted on the abolition of episcopacy, nor on the punishment of the royalists; the very points he was unwilling to yield, and had refused to the Long Parliament. He was soon after conducted to Hampton Court, where he lived for a time with an appearance of dignity and freedom. But Cromwell's ambitious views were not consistent with the restoration of the monarchy; by doubling the king's guards and rendering his situation uneasy to him, they induced him to take the imprudent resolution of withdrawing himself from Hampton Court. He retired to the Isle of Wight, where he was made a prisoner by the governor, and confined in Carisbrooke Castle. Cromwell, in the mean time, had led his troops to London; reduced the Parliament to submission by force; quelled an insurrection in the army, by punishing the ring-leaders with exemplary severity, and routed the Scots, who, being alarmed at the subjection of Parliament to the military, had marched a considerable army southward, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton. But the Parliament, though deprived of all hopes of succeeding, were still determined to resist, and attempted to proceed in the settlement of the kingdom. (1648.) This was the time for the generals to interpose, and they knew it. Next morning, when the Commons were to

meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, entered the house with a party of soldiers, seized in the passage forty-one members of the Presbyterian party, and excluded a hundred and fifty more.* The furious Independents remained, who passed a vote declaring it *high treason* in a king to *levy war* against his *Parliament*, and appointing a high court of justice, to try Charles Stuart for that crime. The bill was thrown out by the Peers, but the Commons nevertheless proceeded; and Colonel Harrison, who was the son of a butcher, and the most furious demagogue in England, received orders to conduct his sovereign to London.

1649.—The court assembled at Westminster. Cromwell and Ireton were among the judges; Cook was the accuser in the name of the nation, and Bradshaw was president of the tribunal. Charles appeared amidst his enemies with his hair grown gray through misfortune, and with a serene tranquillity. Having been accustomed during eighteen months to ruminate on the deceptions of life in the gloom of a solitary prison, he no longer hoped for any thing from mankind; being conducted to a chair within the bar, he took his seat with his hat on, and surveyed his judges with an air of dignified disdain. It would be difficult to imagine a conduct more noble and intrepid than he displayed. Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, adjudged him to suffer death, as a traitor, assassin, tyrant, and enemy of the republic. Firm and composed in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man; nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence, but seemed to look down with a mixture of pity and contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. Three days were allowed him to prepare for his fate. These he passed in great tranquillity, and every night slept as sound as usual amidst the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold. Charles, though thus oppressed by a rebellious faction and insulted by the soldiers, who even spit in his face, was not suffered to die without the tear of compassion, or the interposition of friendly powers. The people now avowed him for their monarch by their generous sorrow; nor could they forbear pouring forth their prayers for his preservation, notwithstanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French and Dutch am-

* This invasion of parliamentary privilege passed by the name of *Pride's Purge*, and the remaining members were called the *Rump*.

bassadors interposed in his behalf; the Scots exclaimed and protested against the intended violence; the queen and the Prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the Parliament. But all their solicitations were in vain. Charles obtained permission to take his last leave of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester, who alone of his family remained in England. On the 30th January he was conducted to the scaffold, erected in the sight of his palace; care was taken to surround the place of sacrifice with a large body of soldiers, for fear that the victim's voice might reach the people, who were ranged at a distance in mournful silence. Charles, perceiving that he could not make himself heard, wished at least when he died to leave posterity an awful lesson. He addressed himself to the few persons around him, and vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his Parliament. But, although innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his sentence in the eye of Heaven, and observed that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect upon the Earl of Strafford was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself.* Having made this avowal, he resolutely laid his head upon the block, and the executioner severed it from his body at a single blow. At this sight, grief, terror, and indignation took possession of the astonished spectators; each one seemed to accuse himself either of active disloyalty to his murdered sovereign, or of tamely witnessing so horrid a catastrophe, which had fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation, and must expose it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The sufferings, piety, patience, and magnanimity of Charles, made all his errors be forgotten; and nothing was now to be heard but lamentations and self-reproach. He was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable; and he was allowed to be an excellent father, husband, master, and friend. He suffered in the 48th year of his age, and was buried at Windsor.

* It being remarked that the king, the moment before the execution, had emphatically pronounced the word *remember*, the generals insisted upon Bishop Juxton's informing them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them that the king had frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, and had taken this opportunity to reiterate that desire. This disposition also appeared in a work that was published in the king's name a few days after his execution, called the *Icon Basilike*, which many persons believe to have been the genuine production of Charles. Chateaubriand observes that the *Icon* of Charles and the testament of Louis XVI. have made more royalists than the edicts of these princes would have made in all their prosperity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EUROPE, FROM THE TREATY OF PRAGUE, IN 1635, TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648.

WHILE Germany was a scene of war and desolation, Cardinal Richelieu ruled France with a rod of iron. Though universally hated, he continued to hold the reins of government. Several conspiracies were formed against him at the instigation of the Duke of Orleans and of the queen-mother; but they were all defeated by his vigilance and vigour, and terminated in the ruin of their contrivers. The widow of Henry IV. was banished the kingdom; her son Gaston was obliged to beg his life; the Marshals Marillac and Montmorenci, the young Marquis de Cinq Mars, and his unfortunate friend De Thou were brought to the block; and the gibbets were every day loaded with inferior criminals, condemned by a court erected for the trial of the cardinal's enemies.

Richelieu's jealousy of Gustavus had prevented him during the life of that monarch from joining the arms of France to those of Sweden; and Oxenstiern, before the unfortunate battle of Nordlingen, was unwilling to give the French any footing in Germany. But after that overthrow, he offered to put Lewis XIII. in immediate possession of Philipsburg and Alsace, on condition that France should take an active part in the war against the emperor. Richelieu readily embraced a proposal that corresponded so entirely with his views, and five considerable armies soon appeared in the field. All Germany became again a scene of war. The Swedes under Bannier, and the Imperialists under the Elector of Saxony, met in the plain of Wislock, (1636,) where a desperate battle was fought, in which the Imperialists were defeated. This battle, which restored the lustre of the Swedish arms, raised Bannier to the highest degree of military reputation, and gave a signal blow to the imperial power, was followed by the demise of Ferdinand II. He died at Vienna, and was succeeded by his son, Ferdinand III. (1637.) The accession of this prince made little alteration in the state of the war. In the following year, (1638,) the imperial army was again defeated. The Duke of Saxe Weymar, after this victory, besieged and took Rhinfield, to which he granted an honourable capitulation. Newburg, Rottelen, and Friburg, the capital of Brisgau, were

also reduced, and the siege of Brisac undertaken. Here the Duke of Lorraine and Goewtz, the Imperial general, attempted to interrupt Weymar's successful career by attacking his entrenchments, but without effect; and Brisac was forced at last to surrender, after it had been reduced to such extremity by famine, that the governor was obliged to set a guard upon the burying-places, to prevent the inhabitants from digging up and devouring the dead. While the Duke of Saxe Weymar thus triumphed over the Imperialists in Alsace, the Swedish general, Bannier, prosecuted his conquests in Pomerania. The two victorious commanders, in 1639, concerted measures for penetrating into the heart of the Austrian dominions. Bannier crossed the Elbe, entered Saxony, advanced as far as the suburbs of Dresden, and after having in his progress cut in pieces seven imperial regiments and two Saxon, he attacked the Saxon army and obtained a complete victory. He then entered Bohemia, defeated again the Imperialists, pursued them to the walls of Prague, and took the imperial generals, Hofskirk and Montecuculli, prisoners. But the Protestant cause sustained this year a great loss by the immature death of the Duke of Saxe Weymar, who expired at Newburg, in the 35th year of his age. He is supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy and ambition of Richelieu, to whom he would not resign Brisac.

1640.—At this time the house of Austria suffered in another quarter. Catalonia revolted, and Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke. A plot had been forming for upwards of three years in favour of the Duke of Braganza, which was now carried into execution. Olivarez had recalled the Spanish garrison from Lisbon, and ordered the Portuguese to take up arms for the subjection of Catalonia: very few troops were left in the whole realm of Portugal; the oppressed people were ripe for an insurrection; and the Spanish minister, to amuse the Duke of Braganza, whose ruin he meditated, had given him the command of the arsenal. The Duchess of Mantua, who had been honoured with the title of Vice-Queen, was driven out of the kingdom. All the towns in Portugal followed the example of the capital, and almost on the same day. The Duke of Braganza was unanimously proclaimed king, under the name of John IV. Ships were immediately despatched from Lisbon to all the Portuguese settlements, and they all, with one accord, expelled their Spanish governors. Portugal became again an independent kingdom; and by the recovery of Brazil, which, during the Spanish administration,

had been conquered by the Dutch, its former lustre was in some measure restored. While all Europe rung with the news of this singular revolution, Philip IV., shut up in the inmost recesses of the Escorial, was utterly ignorant of it. The manner in which Olivarez made him acquainted with his misfortune is memorable:—"I come," said that artful minister, "to communicate good news to your majesty: the Duke of Braganza's whole fortune is become yours. He has been so presumptuous as to get himself declared King of Portugal; and in consequence of this folly, your majesty is entitled to the forfeiture of all his estates." "Let the sequestration be ordered," replied Philip, and he continued his dissipation.

1641.—In Germany, Bannier, after repeated success, fell ill at Zickau, in consequence of the fatigues of that campaign, and died at Halberstadt, to the great loss and inexpressible regret of his country and its allies. The war continued equally fierce and bloody in all parts of the empire, to the detriment of the emperor, till, in 1643, conferences were opened for a general peace. This year was signalized by the death of the Cardinal Richelieu, and his master, Lewis XIII. Mazarin, who succeeded the former in the ministry, adhered with vigour to his plans, and a young hero sprung up to do honour to France, during the minority of Louis XIV. This was the celebrated Duke d'Enghien, afterwards honoured with the title of the Great Condé. In the year following, Turenne retrieved the affairs of France upon the Rhine, and routed the Imperialists near the source of the Danube. (1644.) Forstenson, the Swedish general, passed the Moldaw, and attacked the Imperialists in the neighbourhood of Thabor: the Austrian general and 3,000 men were left dead on the field, and the rest put to flight. The campaigns of the two following years were signalized by bloody battles and dear-bought victories.

Charles Gustavus, Count Palatine of Deux Ponts, who arrived from Sweden, in 1648, with a reinforcement of 8,000 men, undertook the siege of Old Prague, and carried on his approaches with such vigour, that the place must have been taken, had not the emperor, dreading the loss of that capital, resolved in earnest to conclude the so long demanded peace; for hitherto the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg had varied according to the vicissitudes of the war. The memorable peace of Westphalia, which put an end to what is called the thirty years' war, was signed at Munster, in the month of October, 1648. It was here stipulated that France should possess the sovereignty of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, Upper

and Lower Alsace, &c.; to Sweden was granted the archbishopric of Bremen, Upper Pomerania, Stettin, the isle of Rugen, and the city of Wismar, in the duchy of Mecklenburg. The republic of Switzerland was declared to be a sovereign state, exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire; and many particular provisions were enacted, relative to the episcopal sees and chapters in Germany, highly detrimental to the interests of the Catholic church. War between France and Spain was continued with various success, until the treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659.

CHAPTER XIX.

ENGLAND, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMONWEALTH, TO
THE DEATH OF CROMWELL, IN 1658.

THE death of the king was followed by the dissolution of the monarchy. The Commons declared it high treason to acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as sovereign of England, and soon after set a price upon his head. They abolished the House of Peers, as useless and dangerous, and caused a great seal to be struck with this inscription—"The First year of Freedom, by God's blessing restored." Cromwell, who secretly pursued his schemes of ambition, had the address to get himself appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Ormond, a short time before, had been disgracefully defeated by Colonel Jones, the rebel governor of Dublin; and on the arrival of the new lieutenant, the royal party lost ground on all quarters. Drogheda was taken by storm, and a cruel massacre made of the garrison. The same severe execution took place at Wexford, though it had made but a slight resistance. Henceforth every town before which the savage conqueror presented himself, opened its gates on the first summons: he had no farther any thing to fear, but what arose from fatigue and sickness, which swept off great numbers of his men. Ormond, seeing affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy, left the island, and Cromwell freed himself from all farther opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. Above 40,000 Catholics embraced this voluntary banishment. Commissioners were now sent over by the English regicides for the final settlement of the administration of Ireland, and Fleetwood, the son-in-law of Cromwell, was named command-

er-in-chief, a title which Lambert, the successor of Ireton, had rejected. His first act was to collect all the native Irish who had survived the general desolation, and transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated in the course of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to repass the Shannon, on pain of death: and this sentence of deportation, as well as the penal statute of the 27th of Elizabeth, was rigorously enforced until the restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors; the rest of the kingdom was parcelled out among the soldiers, and a colony composed of all the sects that then infested England, who came over in numbers. Such were the blessings of republican liberty dealt out by Cromwell. Soon after he was made protector, he sent his second son, Henry, into Ireland, in 1655. The equitable and mild administration of the envoy conciliated the affections of the Irish, and lightened their grievances. Cromwell, in the mean time, had left Ireland, to reduce Scotland to obedience. Prince Charles, finding his hopes blasted in the former kingdom, was induced to listen to the offers of the Scottish Covenanters, and appointed a meeting with their commissioners, at Breda. (1650.) He there consented to accede to the dishonourable conditions proposed by these fanatics, but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes from the Scottish royalists, in consequence of the total defeat and capture of the Marquis of Montrose. That gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to France; but no sooner did he hear of the tragical death of his sovereign, than his ardent spirit was inflamed with the thirst of revenge; and having obtained of young Charles a renewal of his commission, he set sail for Scotland, with 500 foreign adventurers. He was in hopes of rousing the royalists to arms; but a detachment of the Covenanters' army attacked and routed his followers, and made the marquis himself prisoner. The Covenanters carried their noble captive in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was exposed to the most atrocious insults, and condemned to suffer the ignominious death allotted to the basest felon. Along with him were sacrificed all the persons of any eminence who had repaired to his standard.

Charles, in consequence of his agreement to take the covenant, and submit to other hard conditions, was proclaimed king, and arrived under convoy of seven Dutch ships of war in the Frith of Cromarty. Before his coronation, it was proposed

he should pass through a public humiliation; but he was saved from this disgrace by the advance of an English army under Cromwell, who, leaving Ireton in Ireland, had been invested with the principal command in Scotland, which Fairfax had declined from motives of conscience. The Scots were defeated at Dunbar; Charles, finding the way open, boldly marched into England in 1651. Cromwell, on this, leaving Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland, followed the king with all possible expedition. The prince had reason to expect that his presence would produce a general insurrection in England, but he found himself disappointed. The English Presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him; and when the king arrived at Worcester, he found that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with an army of 30,000 men, attacked Worcester on all sides; and Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and giving many proofs of personal valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The Duke of Hamilton, who made a desperate resistance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almost all either killed or taken. The prisoners, to the number of 8,000 men, were sold as slaves to the American planters.

After the battle of Worcester, the king withdrew in the night from Lesley, the Scottish general, and a party of horse who still attended him, that he might the better effect his escape in the disguise of a peasant. By the direction of the Earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel, a lone house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Pendrel, an obscure but honest farmer. There he remained for some time, employed in cutting wood with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak: among the thick branches of which he sheltered himself, while several persons passed below in search of their unhappy sovereign, and expressed in his hearing their earnest desire of seizing him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers. The Catholics were neither daunted by the fate of their late master, nor depressed by their own sufferings, but continued to prove the same unshaken fidelity to Charles II., which they had shown to his royal father. A great many of them had shed their blood at the battle of Worcester, and during the six following days, the king's life was entirely in their hands. The names of fifty-two persons of their communion, among the rest, of three priests, are upon record, who, during that interval, were acquainted with the

dignity of the royal fugitive then in their power; not one of whom was tempted to betray him, either by the immense rewards or the terrible punishments held out to all persons indiscriminately for this purpose. After many surprising and romantic adventures, Charles arrived at Shoreham, in Sussex, where he embarked, and landed safely at Fiescham, in Normandy, after one-and-forty days' concealment. During this time, Cromwell, crowned with success, (1651,) returned to London, where he was received in triumph. An act was soon after passed for annexing Scotland, as a conquered province, to the English commonwealth! Every place now submitted to the arms of the English; not only in Ireland and the contiguous islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies; so that the Parliament had soon leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations. The Dutch first felt the weight of its vengeance. After the death of William II., who was carried off by the small-pox when he was on the point of enslaving the people whom his ancestors had restored to freedom, a perpetual edict was issued against the dignity of stadtholder. The English Parliament thought this a favourable opportunity of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable; but the proposal being rejected by their high mightinesses, war was declared against Holland in 1651. Through the influence of Cromwell was framed and passed the famous Act of Navigation, which prohibited foreign goods being imported into England, except in such vessels as belong to the country of which the goods are the growth or manufacture.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, with a fleet of forty sail, entered the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an English fleet of only fifteen ships. The latter, however, maintained a desperate battle for five hours, took one of the enemy's ships, and sunk another. Night parted the two fleets. Several other engagements ensued, without any decided advantage; till Van Tromp was victorious over Blake near Goodwin's sands. But he was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph. A fleet of eighty sail was speedily fitted out in England; Blake was again invested with the chief command; and with this he gained a decisive victory, after the most furious battle that had yet been fought by the hostile powers. Two days was the contest maintained with the utmost rage and obstinacy; on the third the Dutch gave way, and once more yielded the sovereignty of the ocean

to its natural lords. (1653.) Overtures of peace were made to the English Parliament, but they were treated with disdain. It was not, therefore, without pleasure, that the States heard of the dissolution of that haughty assembly, which Cromwell dissolved by military force the same year. He next sent summonses to 128 persons of different counties of England, to five of Scotland, and six of Ireland. On these illiterate enthusiasts, chosen by himself, he pretended to devolve the whole authority of the state, under the denomination of the Parliament; and as one of the most active and illuminated among them, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of Praise-God Barebone, this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called *Barebone's Parliament*. After five months, this pretended Parliament was forced to dissolve itself and resign its powers to the council of officers, who proceeded, by their own authority, to declare Oliver Cromwell protector, or supreme magistrate of the Commonwealth. He was accordingly conducted to Whitehall with great solemnity, and having taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed over all the three kingdoms, without the smallest opposition. While Cromwell was thus completing his usurpation over his fellow-subjects, he did not neglect the honour or the interests of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his administration. Another naval victory gained over the Dutch in 1653 excited all the endeavour of the States to retrieve the honour of their flag; and never on any occasion did their vigour appear more conspicuous. Tromp issued forth in a few weeks, with a fresh fleet, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the contest. He soon met with the English fleet, commanded by Monk, and a desperate battle ensued. Next day, the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed, and victory seemed still doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musket-ball. That event decided the contest; and the Dutch were now glad to purchase peace, by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them.

1655.—Cromwell soon after assembled a new Parliament; but not finding it sufficiently submissive, dissolved it, after it had sat five months. But though his authority met with a good deal of opposition at home, and he lived in continual fear of assassination, yet his alliance was courted by the different

powers of Europe, and England held a rank among them, which she had not enjoyed since the days of Elizabeth. Cromwell preserved his authority till his death, which happened on the 23d September, 1658, about a year after he had refused the regal dignity, which his friends in Parliament had offered him.

CHAPTER XX.

EUROPE, FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE
PYRENEAN TREATY, IN 1659.

1648.—LEWIS XIV. was yet in his minority, and Anne of Austria, the queen regent, reposed her whole confidence in Cardinal Mazarin. The princes of the blood took offence at the uncontrollable power placed in the hands of a foreigner, and the Parliament of Paris declared Mazarin a disturber of the public peace and an enemy of the kingdom. The insurrection became general; a civil war ensued. (1651.) The Duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malcontents, still headed by the Great Condé, who now threw himself upon the protection of Spain, and after pursuing the king and the court from province to province, entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. (1653.) A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, obliged Condé, who was supposed to be the author of it, to quit Paris; and the king, in order to appease his subjects, being now of age, dismissed Mazarin, who retired to Sedan. That measure had the desired effect; the people everywhere returned to their allegiance, and Lewis entered the capital amid the acclamations of his people. Condé being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The Parliament was humbled, and Mazarin recalled and more firmly established than ever. During these ludicrous but pernicious wars, which for several years disturbed France, the Spaniards, though feeble, were not inactive: they had reduced Gravelines and Dunkirk. Condé and the Archduke Leopold besieged Arras. Turenne resolved to force the Spanish lines, and performed it with success, making himself master of the baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy. Condé, however, by his admirable retreat, gained no less honour than his rival. It was the talent of at once inspiring confidence into his troops and intimidating his enemies by the boldness of his enterprises,

that made Turenne superior to any general of his age. Conscious that his forces would be estimated by the greatness of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no less by his knowledge of human nature, than of the art of war. Thus for a time the balance was held even between France and Spain; but when Mazarin (in 1658) drew England to the assistance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the contest. Dunkirk surrendered to the English. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenard, Menin, Ypres, and Gravelines, submitted to the arms of France, and Spain saw the necessity of suing for peace. One great object of Mazarin's policy was to obtain for the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy: with this view he proffered peace to Philip IV., by proposing a marriage between the Infanta Maria Teresa and Lewis XIV. This was agreed to; and the better to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, Mazarin and Don Lewis met on the frontiers of both kingdoms, in the Isle of Pheasants, in the Pyrenees. All things were adjusted by the two ministers. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Lewis to receive Condé into favour. Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace, and the long-disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the Duke of Newburg.

About a year after the signing of the Pyrenean treaty, (1661,) died Cardinal Mazarin, and left the reins of government to Lewis XIV., who had become impatient of a yoke which he was afraid to shake off. Historians have seldom done justice to this statesman, whose political caution restrained the vigour of his spirit, and the lustre of whose genius was concealed beneath his profound dissimulation. His leading maxim was, "That force ought never to be employed but in default of other means."

That tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany, continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III., in 1657, when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a successor. At last Leopold, son of the late emperor, was elected; for, though jealousies prevailed on account of the great power of the house of Austria, yet, as the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary.

Sweden had been raised to the highest pitch of glory by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus; and his daughter Chris-

tina immortalized her short reign by declaring herself the patroness of learning and the fine arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Descartes, and other eminent men. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, chiefly from a desire of indulging her passion for study. That peace lightened the cares of government, but they were still too weighty for Christina. In 1650 she prevailed upon the States to declare her cousin, Charles Gustavus, her successor; and, in 1654, finally resigned to him her crown, and, leaving her capital and kingdom, travelled into Germany; embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruch. The Catholics considered this conversion as a triumph, and the Protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman, but both without reason; as her subsequent conduct did little honour to religion, though we may hope the eccentricity of her character extenuated many of her faults. She visited Paris, and then repaired to Rome, where she spent the remainder of her days. In the mean time her successor, Charles X., conquered Poland, and obliged King Casimir to take refuge in Silesia. But the Poles revolted from him, and, by the assistance of Russia, Denmark, and Austria, expelled their invaders. Charles, however, suddenly entered Denmark, and laid siege to Copenhagen. (1658.) But while he seemed to be carrying all before him, he was seized with an epidemical fever, which terminated his life. (1659.) The son of this warlike and ambitious monarch being yet a minor, peace became necessary to Sweden, and was concluded at Oliva, near Dantzic, in 1660, by which Polish Prussia was restored to Casimir, who ceded Estonia and N. Livonia to Sweden. The Danish monarch also made considerable sacrifices.

CHAPTER XXI.

EUROPE, FROM 1658 TO 1668.

It was generally believed that Cromwell's arts of policy were exhausted with his life, and that when the potent hand which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth was removed, the unwieldy and ill-constructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with astonishment his son, Richard, an inexperienced and

unambitious man, quietly succeed to the protectorship. But it soon appeared that the consent which all the different authorities gave to his elevation, was only a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert measures, and act effectually for its own interest. The most considerable officers entered into a cabal against Richard, and demanded of him the dissolution of the Parliament. Unable to resist, and wanting resolution to deny, the protector granted their request. With the Parliament his authority was supposed to expire, and he soon after signed his resignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with more abilities, also quietly resigned the government of Ireland. Thus fell from an enormous height, but, by a rare fortune, without bloodshed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble station from which they had risen.

The council of officers being now possessed of supreme authority, agreed to revive the remnant of the *Long Parliament*, which had been expelled by Cromwell. The bulk of the nation at this date consisted of royalists and Presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended Parliament, and of the army, was become equally obnoxious; a secret reconciliation therefore took place between them, and it was agreed, that, burying former animosities in oblivion, they should make every possible effort for the overthrow of the Rump Parliament, and the restoration of the royal family. But this combination was disconcerted by the treachery of Sir Richard Willis: many of the conspirators were thrown into prison, and the only party that had taken arms was dispersed by a body of troops, under Lambert. This artful and able general, advancing with his hardy veterans to London, and intercepting the members as they were coming to the House, sent them home under a military escort. By this decisive measure, the officers were once more in possession of supreme authority, the substance of which they intended to retain; though, in order to bestow on others the shadow, they elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were of their own body. The most melancholy apprehensions prevailed among the nobility and gentry of the three kingdoms, of a general massacre, and among the people, of a perpetual and cruel servitude under those tyrannical oppressors, who had already expelled all public law and justice from the British dominions. At this very time, however, when Charles, a neglected fugitive on the continent, seemed abandoned by all the world, Providence was paving the way

for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors, in peace and triumph. It was to General Monk, commander-in-chief in Scotland, that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the termination of their bloody dissensions. Hearing that Lambert was advancing northward, Monk affected to treat with the committee of safety; but his object seems to have been to gain time. In the mean while, the Parliament was restored; the troops under Lambert were ordered to repair to their quarters, and their general, being thus deserted by the greater part, was taken prisoner and sent to the Tower. As General Monk advanced towards London, all parties eagerly sought his countenance, but he kept his designs an impenetrable secret. Being introduced into the House of Commons, he observed that nothing but the summoning of a new and free Parliament could give content to the nation. His speech diffused universal joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning sun, through the darkness in which the nation was involved, and the memory of past calamities disappeared. The Parliament assembled on the first of May, 1660. Monk, after sounding their inclinations, acquainted them that Sir John Granville had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter for the Commons. He was immediately called in and the letter eagerly read. A moment's pause was scarce allowed: all at once the House burst into a universal assent to the king's proposals. The letter was published; the peers hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient rights, and take their share in the settlement of the government. His majesty was solemnly proclaimed on the 8th of May, and entered London on the 29th, amidst the acclamations of an immense concourse of people.

No prince seems to have had it more in his power to render himself the favourite of his people, than Charles II., of England, at the date of his restoration. The affectionate expressions of loyalty and attachment which everywhere saluted his ears, demanded his warmest acknowledgments. With loyalty, mirth and gayety returned, and that gloom which had so long overspread the island, gradually disappeared with the fanatical opinions that had produced it. All juridical decrees passed during the commonwealth or protectorship, were affirmed, and an act of indemnity was passed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. The regicides were excluded from this act by Parliament, to which Charles had wisely referred

all exceptions, but only six of them, together with four others who had been abettors of their treason, were executed. Admiral Montague, who had carried a fleet to receive his majesty, was created Earl of Sandwich, and General Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

But certain political measures soon destroyed that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his restoration. His marriage with Catherine of Portugal was by no means agreeable to the Protestants.* The sale of Dunkirk to France, occasioned universal disgust; and the Dutch war contributed to increase the general dissatisfaction. The reasons assigned for commencing hostilities against the United Provinces were the depredations committed by the Dutch upon the English traders in different parts of the world.† In 1664, Sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa, where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions, but seized their settlements of Cape Verd and the Isle of Goree, with many trading vessels. Another squadron sailed soon after to North America, and took possession of the Dutch settlement of New Netherland, now called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother.

Since the death of William II., of Orange, the Dutch had elected no stadtholder. The government had continued in the hands of the Louvestein or republican party, enemies to the house of Orange. This state of the affairs of the United Provinces was not very agreeable to the King of England, who wished to see his nephew, William III., in possession of the authority which his ancestors had enjoyed. John de Wit, pensionary of Holland, the soul of the republican party, and vested with almost dictatorial powers, informed of the hostilities of England, did not hesitate how to act. He entered into an alliance with France, and sent orders to De Ruyter, who was cruising with a fleet in the Mediterranean, to sail towards the coast of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in possession of those settlements from which they had been expelled; the Dutch succeeded in this enterprise, and then, sailing for America, insulted Barbadoes, committed hostilities in various parts, and took a considerable number of ships. A declara-

* The king's chief inducement in the marriage seems to have been the dower of the infanta, who brought him, besides £350,000 sterling, the ports of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in India. His conduct towards her was equally destitute of good feeling, as of the respect due to her station.

† In 1658, the Dutch took possession of the Isle of Ceylon.

tion of war, in 1665, was the consequence of these mutual hostilities. James, Duke of York, Lord High Admiral of England, put to sea with a fleet of one hundred sail, besides fire-ships, and stood for the coast of Holland. Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet was commanded by Admiral Opdam, in conjunction with Evertson and young Tromp, son to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. The Duke of York, in the Royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious battle began. The contest was continued for four hours with great obstinacy. At length Opdam's ship blew up, and the Dutch, after losing near thirty ships, fled towards the Texel. The joy arising from the Duke of York's naval victory was much diminished by the breaking out of the Plague in London, which carried off near 100,000 persons in one year. Lewis XIV. and the King of Denmark joined the Dutch. In order to balance so formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without success, to negotiate an alliance with Spain: he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies, though every shore was hostile to the English seamen, from the extremity of Norway, to the coast of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of seventy-eight sail of the line, commanded by the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert, seemed to justify the confidence of the king. The Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by De Ruyter and Tromp, put to sea in 1666. The battle that ensued is one of the most memorable in the annals of history. Four days did the combat rage, without any appearance of valour slackening on either side. The Dutch had the advantage in the action of the first day; yet Albemarle, in engaging De Ruyter, had shown himself worthy of his former renown. Darkness parted the combatants. Next morning the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceness, and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced by sixteen capital ships. The English were now almost overpowered by numbers, yet Albemarle would yield to nothing but the interposition of night; then, finding his forces much weakened, he resolved to retire. But the Dutch following, being determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action; declaring to those about him his intention to blow up his ship, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. The English, to their unspeakable joy, descried Prince Rupert's squadron coming to their assistance before the renewal of the combat, and the next morning the battle raged with more intenseness than ever. Through the whole fourth

day the contest remained doubtful; and towards evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours. But the English admirals could not be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch fleet, appeared in the Channel, and a terrible conflict ensued. Ruyter, who occupied the centre, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle, till, overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability. Yet he could not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "What a wretch am I, to be compelled to submit to this disgrace! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" Tromp, too, after great success, was obliged to yield; and the English, now absolute masters of the sea, rode in triumph along the coasts; insulted the Hollanders in their harbours, and burned many of their ships, chiefly merchantmen. The Dutch merchants, uniting themselves with the Orange faction, now violently exclaimed against the administration of De Wit, which, as they pretended, had brought disgrace and ruin on their country. The firm and intrepid mind of De Wit supported him in all difficulties: the fleet of the republic was refitted in an incredibly short time, and again put to sea under De Ruyter; but a violent storm obliged him to take shelter in the road of Boulogne, whence he returned home with his troops in a sickly condition. The same storm, which by sea prevented Prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out in London, and raged three days and nights, without intermission. Of twenty-six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were burned down: four hundred streets and lanes, and thirteen thousand houses, chiefly built of wood, were consumed. Popular prejudice ascribed this calamity to the Catholics, though without the shadow of a proof, and a monument was erected to perpetuate the calumny.

1667.—The expense of the naval armaments of England had been so great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to convert to his own use any of the money granted him by Parliament. He therefore resolved to save the last supply for

the payment of his debts, as a prospect of a peace freed him from all apprehensions from his enemies. But De Wit, who was apprized of Charles's supine security, hastened the naval preparations of Holland. The Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, took possession of the mouth of the Thames, while a squadron, commanded by Van Ghent, after reducing Sheerness, broke a chain which had been drawn across the Medway, destroyed the ships stationed to guard it, advanced as far as Chatham, burned three first-rate ships, and carried off the hull of a fourth. This news threw the city of London into the utmost consternation; and such vigorous steps were immediately taken, as induced De Ruyter to steer his course to the westward. He made fruitless attempts upon Portsmouth and Plymouth, but he rode triumphant in the Channel for several weeks, and spread universal alarm along the coast. These fears, however, were soon dispelled, by the signing of the treaty at Breda, by which England retained possession of New York; and the English settlement of Surinam, which had been seized by the Dutch, was ceded to them.

The next step taken by Charles was to engage in the Triple Alliance. Lewis XIV., who assumed the reins of government nearly at the same time that Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, possessed every quality that could flatter the pride, or conciliate the affections of his people. Dazzled with the lustre of his shining qualities, and proud of participating in the glory of their young sovereign, the French nation submitted without murmuring to the most violent stretches of his arbitrary power. Colbert, an active and able minister, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous sums were raised for the public service; a navy was created, and a great standing army supported, almost without being felt by that populous and extensive kingdom. Conscious of his power and resources, the French monarch had early given symptoms of that lofty spirit and insatiable thirst of glory, which so long disturbed the peace of Europe. The first measure that gave general alarm, was the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. Though Lewis had renounced, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, all title to the succession of Spain, which might occur from his marriage with the Infanta Maria Teresa, he still kept in view the eventual succession. Philip IV. had left a son, Charles II. of Spain, a sickly infant; but as the Queen of France was the offspring of a prior marriage, she laid claim to the Spanish Low Countries, to the exclusion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a custom esta-

blished in some parts of Brabant; and was more likely to be adjusted by military force than by argument. Lewis entered Flanders at the head of forty thousand men. Turenne commanded under him, and Louvois placed large magazines in all the frontier towns. Charleroi, Tournay, Furnes, Armentiers, Courtray, and Douay immediately surrendered: Lisle capitulated after a nine days' siege. Garrisons were left in these towns, and the celebrated Vauban was employed to fortify them. A progress so rapid, filled Europe with consternation: another campaign, it was supposed, might put Lewis in possession of all the Low Countries. The Dutch were alarmed at the prospect of having so ambitious a neighbour; and the English monarch resolved to take the first step towards a confederacy, the ostensible object of which should be, the restraining of the power and pretensions of France. In 1668, Sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague for this purpose. Matters were soon adjusted between these two patriotic statesmen. Lewis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquish all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conquests he had made last campaign, or of receiving instead of them Franche Comté, Aire, and St. Omers. De Wit and Temple, founding their treaty upon that proposal, concluded a defensive alliance between England and Holland, and engaged Sweden to join them. This treaty, which has always been considered as the wisest measure in the reign of Charles II., restored England to her proper station in the scale of Europe, and highly exalted the consequence of Holland. France and Spain were equally displeased at the Triple Alliance. Lewis found himself stopped in his career, and Spain was not less dissatisfied at being obliged to give up so many important places, on account of unjust claims and unprovoked hostilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and the plenipotentiaries of all parties met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a consciousness of her own weakness, accepted of the alternative offered by France. Lewis had already entered Franche Comté, and reduced the whole province in a few weeks. Spain chose to recover this province and to abandon all the towns conquered in Flanders during the last campaign. Other circumstances seemed to combine to insure the balance of Europe. After a ruinous war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, an equitable treaty had at last been concluded between the two crowns, and the independence of Portugal acknowledged.

While Charles II. of England, by an unexpected turn of fortune, was ascending the throne of his ancestors, a revolution took place in Denmark, which rendered that crown hereditary in the family of Oldenburg. On the death of Christiern IV., in 1648, his son, Frederick III., was elected King of Denmark, and displayed equal abilities with his father, in war and in civil administration. The valour with which he defended his capital against Charles X. of Sweden, and compelled him to retreat, gained him the admiration of his subjects, and disposed them for a change in the government. By the spoliation of the clergy, when Lutheranism was introduced into the kingdom, the nobles gradually acquired an undue influence and power, while the oppressed people sustained alone the whole burden of taxation. The Bishop of Copenhagen united himself with one of the principal commoners and other associates, in order to compel the nobles to pay their just proportion of the public expenses. To effect this, they proposed to weaken the senate by extending the royal prerogative. A diet being assembled, soon after the peace with Sweden was concluded in 1660, the members of it, who were all warmly devoted to the king and queen, whose kindness and benevolence they had experienced during the siege, drew up a memorial of their grievances and inability to raise the necessary supplies. During these transactions, Frederick, who was apprized of, and had consented to, the projected revolution of the two orders, quietly waited in his palace the turn of events. The nobles, unprepared for so sudden and decisive a change, reluctantly acquiesced in the determination of the other two orders; and thus, without any bloodshed, the crown was declared hereditary in the family of Frederick, his power absolute, and all the acts which restricted his authority were annulled. After which the king, by his own power, regulated the several parts of government, and issued what is denominated the *Royal Law*, which, since the epoch of the revolution, has been considered as the national code. Many wise ordinances were afterwards added to it by Frederick, who, by his moral virtues, moderation, and political talents, laboured to promote the happiness of his subjects, and became the father of his people.

CHAPTER XXII.

DOMESTIC HISTORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THE REIGN OF
CHARLES II.

ON the accession of Charles, Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, father-in-law to the Duke of York, was made chancellor and prime minister, to the general satisfaction of the nation, but some subsequent disappointments had rendered him unpopular; he was impeached by the Commons; and Clarendon, finding that past services were not sufficient to protect him, retired to the continent, where he employed his leisure in writing the history of the civil war. The king, indeed, who had always revered, rather than loved him, was glad to be freed from a minister, who did not permit his master's licentious conduct to pass without reprehension.

In Scotland, the king, from his aversion to business, had intrusted his affairs to his ministers, who, in order to establish episcopacy, passed several severe laws against conventicles. These rigours, instead of breaking the spirit of the people, served only to render them more obstinate, and to inflame them against the established religion. To reduce them to obedience, an army of barbarians, unaccustomed to discipline, was let loose among them and committed the most dreadful havoc. While Scotland was thus suffering for nonconformity to the Protestant church, (which professes toleration,) the English Presbyterians were no less active in raising apprehensions of the subversion of their religion by popish machinations. We have observed before that Charles was indebted to his Catholic subjects for his crown and life; but their loyalty was not requited in the manner they had reason to expect. The act of indemnity and oblivion passed at the beginning of his reign, was construed, and in many cases too justly, as an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and oblivion of his friends. On some few individuals, Charles conferred distinguished titles, and then consented to deprive them of the most precious advantages to which their rank entitled them. Against the whole Catholic body, which he knew and had experienced to be true and steady in their allegiance by principle, he listened to the most atrocious calumnies, and gave his sanction to penal statutes more degrading than even the sanguinary laws of Elizabeth. He connived at the groundless fictions of popish

plots, maliciously fabricated by a disaffected party, and so entirely void of foundation, that even Hume and other writers, who in hardly any other instance do justice to Catholics, acknowledge their innocence on the present occasion. In a fit of political resentment, the unprincipled Earl of Shaftesbury* proposed an act for the creation of new oaths and tests, with the view of excluding some of the most able and trusty men from the king's service. Besides the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and receiving the sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England, the *test* moreover required a solemn declaration against transubstantiation and the invocation of saints, as idolatrous. By this act, which received the royal assent, all Catholics were incapacitated from holding any office under government; even the Duke of York was obliged to resign the command of the navy, in which station he had several times signalized his valour; and it was only by a majority of two, that he preserved his seat in Parliament, from which all the other Catholics were excluded. James professed himself a Catholic in 1671, after the death of his first wife, Lady Anne Hyde, who herself died a Catholic. As the duke was heir apparent to the crown, his conversion gave general umbrage to the nation, which dreaded nothing more than a popish successor; this discontent was considerably augmented by his second marriage, in 1673, with Maria D'Este, a Catholic princess of the house of Modena. In this state of the public mind, nothing was wanting but the contrivance of a Walsingham or a Cecil to invent a new popish plot, and thereby furnish a pretext for exterminating the whole race of English Catholics, and for involving the royal family in their ruin. Their place was supplied by the traitor Shaftesbury, who found associates worthy of himself in two infamous clergymen of the established church, named Titus Oates and Doctor Tongue. Oates, who was the chief actor in this horrid imposture, was one of the most profligate of mankind. By the advice of Tongue, a lover of mischief, and whose chief amusement was to spread scandal and propagate plots, he went abroad, agreed to reconcile himself to the Catholic church, and to enter the society of Jesuits, whence he was dismissed for his bad behaviour. Oates, however, setting his

* It was Ashley Cowper who, in 1671, advised Charles to shut the exchequer, and to seize all the payments that should be made by the officers of the revenue for the public service. In violation of every rule of right or justice, this plan was adopted, and Ashley gained the office of chancellor and a peerage, for what ought to have brought him to the gallows.

wicked imagination to work, in order to supply the want of materials, returned to England burning with resentment against the Jesuits, with a full resolution of forming the story of a popish plot. The information he gave the king was treated with due disregard, and the plot would have sunk into oblivion, had not the Duke of York, on learning that his confessor's name was implicated in the business, insisted on a thorough inquiry into the conspiracy before the council. The substance of Oates's evidence was, that the pope, having assumed the sovereignty of England and Ireland, on account of the heresy of the prince and people, had delegated his authority to the Jesuits, whose general had supplied by commission all the chief offices, both civil and military. These impostures were delivered by Oates in a manner that would have discredited the most consistent story, and the most respectable evidence. But certain collateral circumstances which took place about the same time, worked up the public ferment to a degree of frenzy. The murder of Sir Edmonsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had examined Oates, which remained veiled in mystery, completed the general illusion. The Earl of Danby, an enemy of the Catholics, laid open the matter before the House of Peers, who impeached five Catholic peers for high treason, and passed the degrading law we have before mentioned. It would be useless to enter into details of this pretended plot, or of another, called the *meal-tub plot*, invented later by one Dangerfield, a wretch more infamous, if possible, than Oates and Bedloe; let it suffice to say that the nation was nearly two years under this fatal delirium; that the reality of Oates's plot was voted by two different Parliaments; and that one peer, Viscount Stafford, was beheaded, and seventeen other Catholic laymen or priests were hanged, drawn, and quartered, as being guilty of it, besides a great many others* who were tried and imprisoned on the same account, without mentioning seven more priests, who were executed about this time for the mere exercise of their spiritual

* Lord Stafford was executed in 1680. The populace, who had exulted over his conviction, were softened into tears, at his execution, by the venerable simplicity of his appearance. When the real enemies of the king and government became manifest, in 1684, by the discovery of the assassination or *Rye-house plot*, the other four Catholic peers who had remained in the Tower, were then discharged upon their bail: Lord Petre had died the month before. Oates, styled "*the saviour of the nation*," was rewarded by the Commons with a pension of £1200 a year. On the accession of James II., being convicted of perjury, he was brought to condign punishment, but again received a pension of £400 a year under King William.

functions, the king not daring to relieve them at such a juncture. Equally void of principle and of conduct, Charles little cared to what difficulties he exposed his friends, as long as he could free himself from the importunities of his malignant ministers. Composed at his ease in the lap of indolence and voluptuousness, he has suffered his name to be transmitted to posterity as a passive persecutor of the religion in which he chose to die.* In order to do something grateful to the nation, Charles, in 1677, encouraged proposals of marriage from the Prince of Orange to the Princess Mary, his brother's eldest daughter, and at that time presumptive heiress to the crown, by which he afforded the prospect of a Protestant succession, and hoped to tranquillize the minds of his subjects. Two years after, he desired the Duke of York to withdraw beyond the sea, that no further suspicion of popish counsels might remain. Parliament, however, was still jealous and dissatisfied, and passed a bill of absolute exclusion against the duke; but it was thrown out in the House of Peers, after a long and violent debate. About the same time, the standing army and the king's guards were voted by the Commons to be illegal; and that bulwark of personal and national liberty, the Habeas Corpus Act,† which provided against arbitrary imprisonment, passed the same session. The violence of the Commons increased the number of the king's friends among the people, and from this time he acted with more firmness and resolution. Finding that no concession on his part, except the absolute exclusion of his brother from the succession, could satisfy the Commons, and that they refused him the necessary supplies, while they impeached his minister, the Earl of Danby, and revived the bill of exclusion, Charles took the opportunity of dissolving the Parliament, and resolved to depend on economy and retrenchments. He soon after proceeded to some very arbitrary measures for repressing the independent spirit of the citizens of London. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued

* Charles was reconciled to the Catholic church the day before he died, by Mr. Huddleston, the Benedictine, who had been so instrumental in his preservation after the battle of Worcester.

† The Habeas Corpus Act obliges every judge to give his prisoner a writ, by which the jailer is directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner, (whence the writ had its name,) and to certify the cause of the detainer and imprisonment within a specified time, proportionate to the distance of the jail. It requires that he be indicted the first term after his confinement, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man after being enlarged by order of the Court, can be recommitted for the same offence. It also prohibits the sending any English subject to prison beyond sea.

against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of its corporation, which proving defective, the king deprived them of it, nor did he restore it till he had subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority. Alarmed by this precedent, most of the other corporations in England surrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large sums for such new ones as he was pleased to frame. (1683.)

A few years before this period, (in 1679,) Dr. Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, fell a victim to the fury of the Covenanters, to whom his severity had rendered him obnoxious. An insurrection broke out, which, though apparently formidable, was soon quelled by the Duke of Monmouth,* at the head of some English troops. The Duke of York, having procured the banishment of Monmouth, whose projects were known and avowed, obtained leave to retire into Scotland, and took upon himself the administration of affairs in that country. By his prudence and well-timed severity towards some of the restless fanatics, he soon restored tranquillity, and acquired great popularity.

In Ireland, the Duke of Ormond had recovered all his former authority, and preserved the nation in peace; but, though conscious of his sovereign's secret wish to favour the Catholics, they alone were excluded from the general indemnity, to the astonishment of all impartial men, while the regicides were confirmed in the wages of their sanguinary rebellion. During the remainder of the reign of Charles II., many malicious attempts were made to stigmatize the Irish with fresh insurrections, as a pretext for enforcing the penal laws against the Catholics. Meanwhile, a plan of insurrection had long been concerted in England, though various causes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity, particularly the impeachment of the Earl of Shaftesbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he soon after died. A council of six was established, the members of which were Monmouth, Lord Russell, the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the republican of that name. These, together with the party of the Duke of Argyle in Scotland, were the leaders of the conspiracy, while another scheme, called the Rye-house plot, was projected by a number of conspirators,

* James, Duke of Monmouth, natural son of the king, was extremely popular, and aspired to the throne, in prejudice to the rights of the Duke of York.

who aimed at nothing less than the assassination of the king and the Duke of York. This atrocity was happily prevented by one of the criminals, who turned informer. The conspiracy being traced to its source, several of the principal leaders were immediately apprehended. Monmouth and Grey escaped; Russell and Sidney, with some inferior conspirators, being convicted, paid the forfeit of their lives.

The Duke of York was soon after recalled from Scotland, and restored to the office of high admiral, without taking the test. A few months before the death of Charles, he married his niece, the Princess Anne, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark. Amidst the thick cloud of fanaticism which overspread the nation during the Commonwealth, the celebrated Boyle (son to the Earl of Cork) pursued his philosophical researches. He was one of the first members of the Royal Society in London, established by a patent granted by Charles II., in 1662.

CHAPTER XXIII.

EUROPE, FROM THE TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, IN 1688, TO THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN, IN 1678.

THE Turks, after a long interval of inaction, were again become formidable to Europe. The Grand Vizier Kupruli entered Hungary, at the head of 100,000 men, in 1664; and although he was defeated in a great battle near St. Godard, upon the Raab, by the imperial troops, under Montecuculi, the Turks obtained an advantageous peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whose privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the assistance of the Turks, their old and irreconcilable enemies. The rebels were quickly subdued by the vigour of Leopold; but those brave men who had so often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with the sword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their ancestors, were still dissatisfied; and Germany, deprived of so strong a barrier as Hungary, was soon threatened by the Turks. In the mean time, Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte against the Venetians, and an army of 60,000 Janizaries had now besieged Candia for upwards of two years. But the time of the crusades was long past, and the ardour which had inspired them, extinguished. Though this island was reputed

one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom against the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta, were the only allies of the Venetians, against the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, Lewis XIV., in 1669, sent a fleet from Toulon, to the relief of Candia, but these succours only retarded for a short time the conquest of the isle, which surrendered to the Turks before the close of the year.

These distant operations did not divert the attention of Lewis from his favourite project, the conquest of the Low Countries and the invasion of Holland, for he was highly incensed against the Dutch, for pretending to set limits to his authority. But to render his schemes successful, it seemed necessary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter. Since the exile of Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of Southampton, and was soon followed by that of Albemarle, Charles II. had given himself up to a council of five persons, commonly denominated the Cabal, in allusion to the initial letters of their names:* they had encouraged Charles to hope he might obtain a more absolute power by a close connection with France; and a secret treaty to this effect was concluded at Paris, in 1672. Never had Europe beheld such a naval and military force, or so extensive a confederacy, since the league of Cambray, as was formed for the destruction of Holland. Sweden, as well as England, was detached from the Triple League. The combined fleet of France and England, amounting to upwards of one hundred sail, was ready to ravage the coast of Holland, and a French army of 120,000 choice troops, commanded by the ablest generals of the age, was preparing to enter the frontiers. De Wit attempted to raise a respectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous crisis: but his proposals were opposed by the Orange faction, whose power had become formidable by the popularity of the young prince, William III. The whole tenor of William's behaviour was suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent even in youth, destitute of brilliant talents, but of a sound and steady understanding; greatly intent on business, and little inclined to pleasure, he won the hearts of his countrymen; and the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had protected them against Spain, were desirous of raising him to the authority of his ancestors.

* Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale

In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands; while De Wit hastened the equipment of the fleet, and De Ruyter, the greatest naval officer of his age, put to sea with ninety-one men-of-war, besides frigates and fire-ships. The English fleet, under the Duke of York and the Earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by Count d'Estrees. A terrible conflict ensued. The Duke of York bore down upon De Ruyter, and fought him with such fury for two hours, that, of thirty-two actions in which that hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared this to have been the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. The next day the Dutch were chased to their own coast.

The King of France, having divided his numerous army into three bodies, headed the first in person, and, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced to the banks of the Rhine. Having passed the river, he took possession of Arnheim, Schench, Nimeguen, and several other towns; and the Prince of Orange, unable to make head against the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland, with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Lewis, like the course of an inundation, levelled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Lewis entered Utrecht in triumph. In the course of a few weeks the three provinces of Guelders, Utrecht, and Overysseel had submitted to his arm; Friesland and Groningen were invaded by his ally, the Bishop of Munster; the reduction of Holland and Zealand was alone wanting to crown his triumph, and these provinces were a prey to faction, and become ungovernable from their fears. Amsterdam alone seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea, and as a last resource, the sluices were opened, and the neighbouring country was laid under water, without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages which were overwhelmed by the inundation. All the provinces soon followed the example of the capital. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealousy, when its very political existence was threatened, the people rose at Dort, and forced their magistrates to sign the repeal of the perpetual edict; other cities followed the example, and the Prince of Orange was declared stadtholder. This revolution was followed by the barbarous massacre of De Wit and his brother, who fell a sacrifice to the vengeance

of the Orange party, now triumphant. The Dutch had hoped that the elevation of the Prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder would influence the measures of his uncle, the King of England; but Charles persisted in his alliance with France; and Lewis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no further progress could be attempted by his arms during that campaign, returned to Versailles.

1673.—The other states of Europe, however, soon began to discover a jealousy of the power of France. The emperor put himself in motion; the Elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the states; the King of Spain sent some forces to their assistance, and a different aspect of affairs soon became visible. The combined fleet of France and England again appeared off the coast of Holland, and three indecisive battles were fought. In the mean time the French monarch took Maestricht, while Naerden was retaken by the Prince of Orange, and the Imperialists under Montecuculi besieged and took Bonn. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communications between France and the United Provinces being by that means cut off, Lewis was obliged to recall his forces and abandon his conquests with precipitation. The house of Austria in both branches, being alarmed at the steps taken by the King of France, the emperor, and the Catholic king, publicly signed a treaty with the United Provinces, before the close of the year. Forgetting her ancient animosities against the republic, in the recent injuries received from the French monarch, Spain immediately issued a declaration of war; and, by a strange reverse in her policy, defended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power.

When the English Parliament met, in the beginning of 1674, the Commons discovered such strong symptoms of discontent at the late measures of government, that Charles judged it necessary to make peace with Holland; apologizing to Lewis for the step he had taken by representing the state of his affairs. Lewis astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions in the campaign of this year. He had three great armies in the field; one on the side of Germany, another in Flanders, a third on the frontiers of Roussillon, and he himself, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and subdued the whole of that province in six weeks. The taking of Besançon was a matter of triumph to Lewis. He loved sieges,

and is said to have understood them well: but he never besieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things so effectually, the troops were so well appointed, and Vauban, who conducted most of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly safe. Vauban directed the attacks at Besançon, which was reduced in nine days, and became the capital of the province; the university and seat of government being transferred to it from Dole. In Flanders, the Prince of Condé attacked the rear of the confederates near Seneffe, a village between Marimont and Nivelles, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The Prince of Orange, however, rallied his disordered forces and led them back to the charge, pushed the veteran troops of France, and obliged the great Condé, though now advanced in age, to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than he had done in any action during his life, though he had been peculiarly distinguished in his youth, by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. The engagement was renewed three several times; and after sunset it was continued for two hours by moonlight. Darkness at length put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. Twelve thousand men lay dead on the field, and the loss on both sides was nearly equal. Before the close of the campaign, the Prince of Orange took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the seven provinces. Turenne, on the side of Germany, completed that high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greatest general of his age and nation. He possessed himself of the whole Palatinate. In the following year (1675) he was less successful. Montecuculi, who commanded the forces of the empire, attempted to pass the Rhine. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides. These two generals had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he himself would have done in like circumstances. Turenne was preparing to seize a favourable opportunity of bringing the Germans to a decisive action, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, when a period was put to his life by a cannon-ball, as he was viewing the position of the enemy, and taking measures for erecting a battery. The consternation of the French at the loss of their general was inexpressible; they retreated, and by the aid of the English auxiliaries were enabled to repass the Rhine without much loss. The Prince of Condé came with a reinforce-

ment to supply the place of Turenne; but before his arrival the Maréchal de Crequi was routed by the Gerinans, who took Treves. The King of Sweden, who had been induced to take part with France, was very unfortunate in this campaign. He was defeated by the Elector of Brandenburg, whose territories he had invaded, and lost all Pomerania.

In 1676, France was equally successful by sea and land. Messina in Sicily had revolted from Spain, and a French fleet, under the Duke of Vivonne, was sent to support the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spanish squadron sailed to oppose Vivonne, but after an obstinate combat Messina was relieved by the French. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant De Ruyter, in which the French had also the advantage. A third battle, more decisive than either of the former, was fought off Palermo; this left the French undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, and endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily. In 1677, Lewis took several important places in Flanders, and defeated the Prince of Orange in an obstinate battle, while the Maréchal de Crequi, who commanded on the Rhine, obliged the Duke of Lorraine to retire from Mentz, and closed the campaign by taking Fribourg in Swabia. The King of Sweden was still unfortunate. His fleet was twice defeated by the Danes, and the Elector of Brandenburg took from him the important fortress of Stettin. During the rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negotiations had been begun between Lewis and the States General. Both sides had reason to wish for peace. Holland had suffered in her commerce and was overpowered with taxes, and France, though victorious in the field, was exhausted at home. And as the emperor and Spain, though least able to continue the war, seemed resolved to stand it out, the Dutch ambassador signed a separate treaty with France, (1678,) which occasioned much clamour among the confederates, but was ratified by the States; and all the other powers were at last obliged to accept the terms dictated by the French monarch. The principal of these were, that Lewis, besides Franche Comté, which he had twice conquered, should retain possession of Cambray, Aire, St. Omers, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchaine, Cassel, Charlemont, and other places: that he should restore Maestricht to the States: that Spain should be again put in possession of Charleroy, Oudenard, Ath, Ghent, and Limbourg. That the emperor should give up Fribourg to France, and retain Philipsbourg: that the Elector of Brandenburg should

restore to Sweden his conquests in Pomerania; and that the treaty of Westphalia should remain in full force over Germany and the north. The Duke of Lorraine was the only prince who refused to be included in the peace of Nimeguen: he chose rather to be a soldier of fortune, and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions proposed by Lewis. The Prince of Orange was so enraged at this peace, that he took a most unwarrantable step to break it. He attacked the quarters of the Duke of Luxembourg, near Mons, in hopes of cutting off the French army, after the treaty was signed, and when the duke reposed on the faith of it; but this bold violation of the law of nations was attended with no other consequence than the loss of many lives on both sides.

CHAPTER XXIV.

EUROPE, FROM THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN, IN 1678, TO THE
LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG, IN 1687.

THE peace of Nimeguen, instead of setting bounds to the power of Lewis XIV., left him more at leisure to extend it. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, Lewis still kept up all his, and in the midst of profound peace maintained a formidable army. No European prince since the time of Charlemagne had acted so much like a master and a judge. In 1680, the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves were divested of several places by his imperious tribunals. The following year he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Strasburg, as capital of Alsace. Louvois, at the head of 20,000, took possession of the place, and Vauban, who had fortified so many towns, here exhausted his art, and rendered Strasburg the strongest barrier of France. In 1683 he blockaded Luxemburg. Alarmed at these pretensions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to take measures for restraining the encroachments of France; but Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were called upon to oppose a more pressing danger. The Hungarians, who thought their privileges had not been sufficiently respected by Leopold, again broke out into rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the insurgents, called in the Turks to the support of his countrymen. By the assistance of the Bashaw of Buda, he ravaged Silesia, and

reduced many important places in Hungary; while Mohammed IV., the reigning sultan, was preparing the most formidable force that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. Leopold, foreseeing that the gathering storm would finally break upon Germany, besides demanding the assistance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with John Sobieski, King of Poland. Meanwhile, the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustapha, passing through Hungary, at the head of 50,000 Janizaries, 30,000 Spahis, and 200,000 common men, advanced towards Vienna. The Duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppose the progress of the invader. The Turks under the grand vizier took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli with the Hungarians the left. Seeing his capital threatened on all sides, the emperor retired first to Lintz, and then to Passau. The Turks invested Vienna in July, and had not only destroyed the suburbs, but made a breach in the body of the place before September. The Duke of Lorraine had prevented the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to relieve the garrison; an assault was every moment expected, when John Sobieski, having joined his troops to those of Saxony and Bavaria, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the mountain of Calenberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, out of contempt for the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wanted in luxury, was made sensible of his mistake when it was too late to repair it. The Christians descended the mountains, under the command of the King of Poland and the Duke of Lorraine. The Turks were seized with a panic, and routed almost without resistance. Only 500 of the victors fell; and so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they abandoned not only their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them the famous standard of Mohammed, which Sobieski sent to the pope with the following letter:—"I came, I saw, God conquered." The Turks received another defeat on the plain of Barcan, and all Hungary on both sides of the Danube was recovered by the imperial arms. The King of France had raised the blockade of Luxemburg, when the Turks approached Vienna, "I will never," said he, "attack a Christian prince, while Christendom is in danger from the infidels:" but the apprehensions of Christendom being removed by the relief of Vienna, and the expulsion of the Turks, Lewis returned to the siege of

Luxemburg, and reduced, in a short time, not only that place, but also Courtray and Dixmude. (1684.) The glory and greatness of the French monarch were still farther extended by means of his naval power: he had upwards of a hundred ships of the line, and 60,000 seamen; the magnificent port of Toulon was constructed at an immense expense; and that of Brest, upon the ocean, was formed upon as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ships, and Rochefort, in spite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Lewis allow his ships to lie inactive in these ports. He sent out squadrons to clear the seas of the Barbary pirates; he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded, and not only humbled that haughty predatory city, and obliged the Algerines to release all their Christian slaves, but subjected Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions. The Genoese being accused of having sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines, and built galleys for the Spaniards, Lewis ordered Duquène to sail from Toulon with fourteen ships of the line, twenty galleys, and fourteen frigates; these appeared before Genoa, and suddenly reduced to a heap of ruins many of those magnificent buildings, which have obtained for that city the appellation of *Proud*. Four thousand men were landed, and the suburb of St. Peter D'Arena was burned. It now became necessary for the Genoese to make submissions, in order to prevent the total destruction of their capital. Lewis demanded that the doge and four of the principal senators should come and implore his clemency at Versailles. These humiliating conditions were complied with; the doge, in his ceremonial habit, appeared before Lewis, in a supplicating posture. This doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, being asked by the French courtiers what seemed to him most extraordinary at Versailles, very pointedly replied, "To see myself there."

In 1685, Lewis revoked the edict of Nantes, which had been granted by Henry IV., in favour of the Calvinists. This strong and decisive measure seems to have been dictated by cautious policy, not by tyrannical persecution, as it is represented by various historians.* Forty years of Lewis's reign had passed, and no molestation had been given to the Huguenots, until provoked by themselves. The danger of seeing France once more involved in civil war, through the

* See this article treated at large in a memoir, written by Lewis Dauphin, father of Lewis XVI., quoted by Feller. *Dictionnaire Historique*, vol. 4, page 192.

intrigues of democratical innovators, (Jansenists and Huguenots, both by principle equally hostile to regal and episcopal government,) was visible on the one hand, and on the other, no less visible was the loss of so many industrious mechanics. The politic monarch of France judged that public tranquillity could not be secured at too dear a rate; and, therefore, ordered all the body of French Huguenots either to abjure the doctrines of Geneva and return to the Catholic Church, or quit the kingdom. The generality of them conformed; but some preferred banishment, and several of these exiles fled to England, where they experienced great kindness from James II. Thus protected, many among them rose to opulence and consequence, which their posterity still enjoy.

During the last-mentioned transactions in France, the emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obstinate siege. He had defeated them with great slaughter at Mohatz, 1689: he had entirely subdued the Hungarian malcontents, he had even got the crown of Hungary declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son, Joseph, proclaimed king of that country. He had now leisure to turn his eyes towards France, nor could he do it with indifference. A league had been concluded by the whole empire in 1686 to restrain the encroachments of that power; and an attempt of Lewis to get the Cardinal of Furstersburg made Elector of Cologne, in opposition to the emperor, kindled anew the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland became principals in the league; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy were afterwards gained over, and the accession of England was at length acquired.

CHAPTER XXV.

1685.—THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND.

ON the demise of King Charles, in 1685, his brother James, Duke of York, mounted the British throne, with every mark of public approbation and attachment to his person, notwithstanding his open professions of the Catholic religion; and he might probably have reigned in tranquillity, and died in peace on the throne of his ancestors, had he been less zealous in the cause of religion, or had he placed less confidence in those who, by false advice, led him into a snare. The spring of James's subsequent misfortunes may be traced to the choice

he made of Cecil, Earl of Sunderland, for his prime minister and secretary of state. This perfidious and artful minister professed himself a convert to the Catholic religion, that he might ruin him the more effectually, while he seemed to exert his best endeavours to serve him. James saw not through the dark designs of the hypocrite, but blindly gave in to every unpopular measure suggested by him. The first public disturbance arose from the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth, who had long cast his eyes on the crown; and, being flattered with hopes of success, by the assurances he received from Sunderland, embarked from Holland, where he then was, and landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, June 9th, 1685. His standard was joined by a raw multitude, amounting to five thousand men; but the royal army being encamped within three miles of Bridgewater, he was defeated with great slaughter, taken prisoner, and beheaded. Before his execution, he let the king know that Sunderland, and others in his confidence, were partners with him in treason. But the king was too prepossessed in favour of his confidential minister to believe him guilty. A special commission of *Oyer and Terminer* was issued to Jefferies, the lord chief justice, for the trial of the rebel prisoners. Jefferies, in the execution of his commission, is represented to have been bloody, arbitrary, and savage; and the odium of his severities was unjustly cast upon the king, though it does not appear that he approved of them.* In the mean time, the Duke of Argyle, one of Monmouth's partisans, had made a similar attempt upon Scotland; but the king's authority was too well established there, to be shaken by the duke's forces, which amounted to two thousand men. His arms and ammunition were seized, and his followers, after suffering all the hardships of famine and fatigue, gradually deserted; and he himself, being made prisoner, was conveyed to Edinburgh and immediately executed. (1686.) Monmouth's rebellion was scarcely suppressed, when the good understanding which had hitherto subsisted between the king and the Parliament began to be interrupted. His majesty informed the Commons that a disposition in the people to revolt, rendered the increase of a military force necessary to preserve the tranquillity of the realm; and that having in the time of danger employed officers in the army who had not taken the qualifying tests, they could not now be dismissed without disgrace. The king considered the right of dispensing with penal statutes as an inhe-

* Vide Lingard.

rent prerogative of his crown, which he was resolved not to relinquish. The judges of the law were consulted upon the question, and eleven of them declared the claim to be legal. The same dispensation had been frequently granted by Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II., who had all employed Catholics in their armies and navies; and Parliament itself had more than once acknowledged this prerogative of the crown; but as the exertion of it seemed now to favour the re-establishment of the Catholic religion, it met with virulent opposition. The treacherous Earl of Sunderland was, all this while, furnishing the nation with subjects of discontent, by urging the king from one unpopular step to another. At his suggestion, the king formed a secret council of Roman Catholics, to consult upon affairs of religion. An English ambassador was sent to reside at Rome, and a pope's nuncio was publicly received in England. The management of affairs relative to the national church was consigned to an ecclesiastical Court of Commission, composed of seven Protestants, who were vested with the same exorbitant powers as those formerly given by Elizabeth to the like court. A royal proclamation was issued, which granted to every British subject an entire freedom to follow that mode of worship which conscience should dictate. This indulgent grant was joyfully received by the Catholics and by the Dissenters of every denomination, but loudly censured by others. The king, believing that his edict gave general satisfaction, published a new declaration for liberty of conscience, in April, 1688, to which an order was subjoined, that it should be read in every church and chapel in the kingdom, after divine service. This order was considered by the clergy as an insult upon the national church. Six of the bishops resisted the mandate; they were indicted for disobedience, and committed to the Tower. Their case was tried in the Court of King's Bench, and the jury declared them not guilty. This contest with the bishops completed the king's unpopularity; while the measures he had taken relative to the government of Ireland, were calculated to increase the jealousy and suspicions of the Protestant party. No wonder that the Catholics of that long oppressed and much injured country should hail the accession of a Catholic prince to the throne, with an enthusiastic and even intemperate joy. The turn of the scale of politics was rapid and complete. The Earl of Clarendon had succeeded Ormond as lord deputy; but he was probably too firmly attached to the Protestant interest, to give in as largely to the king's measures

as was agreeable to the court. In obedience to the instructions he received, the Catholics were advanced to many civil and military offices, and the Earl of Tyrconnell appointed commander of the army. (1686.) This last was soon after prevailed on to go over to England, in order to engage the king to come into their favourite measure, of abolishing the obnoxious act of settlement. His endeavours were successful, and he returned to Ireland as lord deputy.

Meanwhile, the Prince of Orange, who was minutely informed by Sunderland of every thing that passed in England, was active in forming schemes for mounting the throne of his father-in-law. Ever since his marriage with the Princess Mary of England, he had always kept his eye upon the crown; though he had a complicated scheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering interests to reconcile on the continent. The league of Augsburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England; and as James refused to take part in the league, the House of Austria, in both its branches, countenanced his projected expulsion, as the only means of humbling their common enemy. All the German princes were in the same interest; and it was agreed they should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William.

While one-half of Europe thus combined against the King of England, while many of his own subjects were determined to oppose his power, and more to divest him of his authority, James, as if blinded by fate, reposed in the most supine security, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations made against him. Deceived by his ambassador in Holland, and betrayed by his minister, the Earl of Sunderland, James believed the rumour of an invasion was only raised by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a closer connexion with France, and to complete, by that means, the disaffection of his subjects. The prince, at length, after several disappointments, put to sea, on the 1st of November, 1688, with a large fleet, having on board land forces to the amount of 15,000 men. Lord Dartmouth, who commanded the English fleet, let them pass unmolested; they sailed down the Channel, and on the 4th of November anchored safely in Torbay. As soon as the king was apprized of the invader's landing, he hastened to put himself at the head of his army, and ordered all his forces to rendezvous on Salisbury plain, under the command of the Earl of Feversham; but on reviewing them, he discovered such symptoms of disaffection, that he was at a loss how

to act. Even among those whom he had most favoured, he saw but few on whom he could rely. In a council of war, a retreat towards the capital was resolved on. The enemy advanced; James left the remains of his army in quarters, and retreated to London on the 26th of the same month. Successive misfortunes were now daily heaped upon the unfortunate monarch; his nearest friends and relatives were among the first to desert him, and the spirit of revolt spread from county to county, as if the whole nation had at once combined against its lawful sovereign. His son-in-law, the Prince of Denmark, joined the Prince of Orange, and even his darling daughter, Anne, secretly withdrew, under the conduct of the Bishop of London, to join the rebels. This defection of a favourite child wrung his heart with inexpressible grief, and subdued the usual constancy of his mind. The terrors of the queen for her own, and her infant son's safety, added to his distress: he therefore sent them off privately to France, under the care of the Count de Lauzun, a generous French nobleman. All hopes of an accommodation with the invader being now past, and not knowing on whom to rely for advice or support, James resolved to quit a country which had brought his father to the scaffold, and to retire to France. With this design, he privately left his palace, at midnight, on the 10th of December, crossed the river in disguise, and was met at Vauxhall by Sir Edward Hales, and another friend. To complete his imprudence, he commanded the Earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of Parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames! At Feversham he was discovered, and forced to return to Whitehall, amidst the insults of a militia guard, who had orders to take care of his person. On the 17th, at night, his English soldiers were replaced by Dutch troops, and the king received a message from the prince, to quit his palace before ten the next morning. A hundred Dutch soldiers were ordered to escort him to Rochester, and guard him as their prisoner. Several noblemen, the gallant Lord Dundee, and other officers of distinction, who had assembled at Rochester, strenuously opposed the king's determination of retiring to France. They represented to him that the opinion of mankind began already to change; and Dundee, with his generous ardour, only entreated his majesty to give him his commission, and he would carry his standard through England, and drive before him the Dutch and their prince. James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war, and he

would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses. The animated remonstrances of his friends could not inspire with new firmness a mind broken by apprehension and terror. James still continued to meditate his escape; and the back door of the house in which he lodged being left unguarded, his majesty seized the opportunity, after three days' confinement; went on board a sloop that lay waiting for him; got safe to the opposite shore on the 25th of December,* and immediately taking post, soon joined his queen, at St. Germain's, where he was received by Lewis XIV., with every mark of cordial affection. The two Houses of Parliament met in January, 1689, and declared the flight and expatriation of James equivalent to a desertion of his subjects, and an abdication of his crown. In the mean time, the Presbyterians in Scotland, who formed the bulk of the nation, entered warmly into the interests of the Prince of Orange, who was of their persuasion, and deputed thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, to request him to assume the administration of Scotland. The English Convention, after many disputes between the whigs and tories,† at last agreed, that the Prince of Orange should reign jointly with his wife, the sole administration to be in the prince. The act of settlement, moreover, provided, that in default of heirs in the direct line, the Princess Anne was to succeed, and her posterity after that of her sister. To this regulation was annexed a declaration, which fixed the bounds of the royal prerogative. Thus was terminated the great struggle between the crown and the people, which commenced with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, when almost a century had elapsed. This event, called the Revolution, forms a remarkable epoch in the English history.

Long before James left England, the Protestants in the North of Ireland were up in arms; they had appointed councils and committees to carry on their business, and all this was done without the authority of James, at that time King of England. Tyrconnel, under these embarrassments, summoned

* He was accompanied by the Duke of Berwick, his natural son.

† Various etymologies have been given to these noted terms. They were used as epithets of mutual reproach during the reign of Charles II. The *Whigs* were strongly attached to the liberties of the people, while the *Tories* were equally zealous for the prerogative of the crown. After the abdication of James II., the latter was supposed to favour the Stuart succession, and the reproachful appellation of *Jacobite* was bestowed on those who were attached to the person or family of the dethroned monarch.

all the loyal part of the nation to arm in defence of the rights of their lawful sovereign; and an army of about 30,000 men was at length formed by him, and officered chiefly with Catholics. James gave constant assurances, that he would come over to lead them in person; he was then at the court of Lewis XIV., who, commiserating his fallen state, and envying the rising power of William, his inveterate enemy, offered him a French army to regain his rights, which he declined, saying, "that he would recover his dominions by the assistance of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt." James sailed from Brest with a strong armament, having on board 1200 of his own subjects, who were then in the pay of France, and a hundred French officers. He landed at Kinsale, in March, 1689, whence he proceeded to Dublin, and was received as king with great pomp and solemnity. The Protestant revolutionists defended themselves in Derry and Enniskillen, till the arrival of an English army of 40,000 men, under Schomberg, in August, the same year. William afterwards landed to head his army in person, and the battle of the Boyne was fought on the 1st of July, 1690. In this action William distinguished himself by his intrepidity and vigilance; while James, on the contrary, stood at a secure distance, and when he saw his Irish troops repulsing those of the enemy, exclaimed, "O spare my English subjects." His chief concern before the battle was to provide for his personal safety. Resolved to insure it, when matters took an unfavourable turn, he fled precipitately to Dublin, and thence to Waterford, where he took shipping for France. The route of William and his victorious army was marked with cruelty and devastation. They met with a vigorous resistance from the army under Tyrconnel, till October, 1691, when the Irish surrendered their last hold, the city of Limerick, on honourable conditions. By the treaty, concluded on this occasion, all who wished to quit the country were permitted to retire with their families and effects. The number of voluntary exiles, who chose rather to forfeit all natural advantages than fail in the allegiance they conceived due to their lawful prince, amounted to upwards of 19,000 men. The treaty of Limerick secured to William the undisputed possession of Ireland; in return, he promised liberty of conscience. The stipulation was observed just two months; during that period the flower of the Irish army followed James to France, and the rest disbanded.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EUROPE, FROM 1689, TO THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ, IN 1699.

THE League of Augsburg was completed by the adhesion of England, in 1689. The French monarch, trusting to his great resources, prepared himself to repel the storm, with a vigour proportioned to the occasion. He assembled two armies in Flanders; he opposed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, assembled three formidable armies, besides that opposed to the Turks; namely, one under the Elector of Bavaria, on the Upper Rhine; the main army, under the Duke of Lorraine, on the Middle Rhine; and a third, conducted by the Elector of Brandenburg, appeared on the Lower Rhine. The Duke of Lorraine laid siege to Mentz, while the Elector of Brandenburg invested Bonn. Both places were taken; and the French were worsted in an engagement in Flanders. Nor was Lewis more successful in Catalonia; his troops were driven back to their own frontiers.

The same year the Prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the side of Hungary, defeated the Turks in three successive engagements. About the same time an alarming attempt was made in Scotland to assert the rights of James. But Lord Dundee, who headed the Highlanders, having been killed by a random shot, the rest submitted. In the mean while, the English Parliament, though divided on every other point, was unanimous in seconding the inimical designs of William against France, and, accordingly, war was declared this same year. (1689.)

In 1690, the Duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became necessary for Lewis to send an army into Italy. This army was committed to Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolness of a philosopher. He completely defeated Victor Amadeus, at Staffarada; and all Savoy, except Montmelian, was soon after reduced. Equal success attended the arms of France in this campaign on the frontiers of Spain and in Flanders, where Luxemburg gained a complete, but bloody victory, over the Dutch and Spaniards at Fleurus, near Charleroy. Nothing memorable happened on the side of Germany, owing, perhaps, to the death of the Duke of Lorraine. This

gallant prince, whose high spirit induced him to abandon his dominions, and become a soldier of fortune, rather than submit to the conditions offered by Lewis at the peace of Nimeguen, was become a consummate general. His injuries seem always to have been uppermost in his mind, except while engaged against the infidels, when religion was predominant. He threatened to enter Lorraine at the head of 40,000 men before the end of the summer, but died before that date. His letter to the Emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, strongly marks his character. "I am going," says he, "to give an account to a more powerful master of a life which I have devoted chiefly to your service. Remember that I leave behind me a wife who is nearly related to you; children who have no inheritance but my sword, and subjects who lie under oppression."

1690.—The Turks this year took Nissa Widin, and even Belgrade, which was carried by assault after a bloody siege. All Upper Hungary, beyond the Tibiscus, fell into their hands, and they took up winter-quarters in that country. To add to the misfortune of the allies during this campaign, the combined fleet of England and Holland was defeated by the French under Tourville.

1691.—The progress of the French during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their late victories. Though Lewis in person took Mons, in defiance of King William, who had placed himself at the head of the confederate army, yet the summer passed without any memorable event. Meanwhile the Turks lost all they had gained the former year, and were totally routed by the Prince of Baden, with the loss of 20,000 men.

A cruel massacre of the inhabitants of the vale of Glenco, in Argyleshire, contrary to the faith of a royal proclamation, roused once more the resentment of the Jacobites, and was made use of by the dissatisfied whigs to render the government of William odious. An insurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland; and Lewis, encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began to prepare for an invasion. A considerable body of French forces, joined by many fugitive Irish and Scots, assembled for the purpose, between Cherbourg and La Hogue, commanded by James, while sixty-three ships of the line were appointed to favour the descent. To oppose this formidable armament, a fleet of 99 ships was fitted out, under the gallant Admiral Russel. On the 19th of May, 1692, the hostile fleets met off

La Hogue. A bloody contest ensued; victory declared in favour of the English, and all the expectations of James vanished. During the conflict, the exiled monarch repeatedly exclaimed, with a mixture of admiration and regret, "See my brave English," conscious, nevertheless, that he was viewing the extinction of his hopes. The projected invasion thus proving unsuccessful, James returned to St. Germain's in 1694, where he spent the few remaining years of his life, in the unostentatious practice of the most exemplary piety. In awarding to this well-meaning but misguided monarch the praise due to his many good qualities, and, above all, his unshaken fidelity to the religion he had conscientiously embraced, we are free to admit that the rash zeal, or secret treachery of his advisers, often betrayed him into unconstitutional measures, the extreme unpopularity of which led to his expulsion from the throne. His subsequent life in exile was marked by every virtue, and he closed his career, still honoured by all as a sovereign, and revered by many as a saint.

In the spring of 1692, William and Lewis set out on the same day to join their respective armies. Lewis sat down before Namur with an army of 30,000 men, while Luxembourg, with another army, covered the siege of that important place, which is situated at the conflux of the Sambre and Maese. William advanced to the relief of the place with an army of 80,000 men, but failed in his attempt, and the town was obliged to surrender. To wipe off this disgrace, William endeavoured to surprise the French army, under Luxembourg, at Steinkerck. The attack was chiefly made by the British troops. William and his Dutch generals failed to second the efforts of those brave battalions. The English, thus neglected, and left to sustain the whole shock, were obliged to give ground, and were almost all cut to pieces. Above 10,000 men fell on both sides in the space of two hours. William's military character suffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the English against the Dutch became violent in the highest degree. "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make," was the cool, sarcastical reply of Count Solmes, when ordered to advance to the support of the British troops.

In the mean while, the Duke of Savoy entered Dauphine; ravaged the country, and reduced the fortified towns. Nothing of any consequence happened on the Rhine. Hanover was this year made an electorate by the emperor. In 1693, Lewis opened the campaign with great pomp, in Flanders, a

the head of an army of 120,000 men. He sent part of his troops into Germany, under the dauphin, and, leaving to Luxembourg the conduct of the military operations in Flanders, returned to Versailles. Luxembourg, finding the allies unwilling to come to an engagement, resolved to attack them in their camp. A desperate battle was fought at Neerwinden, (1694,) in which the French obtained a signal but bloody victory. They were again victorious on the side of Savoy, and on the ocean. The glory and greatness of Lewis XIV. were now not only at their height, but verging towards a decline. His resources were exhausted; his minister, Louvois, who knew so well how to employ them, was dead; and Luxembourg, who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of the next campaign. Lewis therefore determined to act merely on the defensive in Flanders.

This year was signalized in England by the act for *trien-nial Parliaments*, which passed both Houses, and received the royal assent in November,* also by the death of the queen, after a short illness, in the thirty-third year of her age, and the sixth year of her reign. She was possessed of a good understanding, and of conciliating, amiable manners. Her attachment to the Protestant religion, and to the principles of liberty, gained her the good-will of the whigs, who, on those considerations, were ready to overlook the ingratitude and breach of filial duty with which her character is stained.

The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campaigns, was much raised by the retaking of Namur. But the allies had little success in other quarters. On the side of Hungary the accession of Mustapha II. to the Ottoman throne gave a new turn to affairs. He passed the Danube, stormed Lippa, seized Itul, attacked and killed Veterani, and dispersed his forces. The next campaign produced no signal event. France was exhausted by her great exertions, and most of the other powers seemed heartily tired of the war. A congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened at the Castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona by the Duke of Vendôme, induced the King of Spain to listen to the proposals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty.

* A similar bill had been extorted from Charles I, but repealed soon after the restoration, in compliment to Charles II

(1697.) The concessions made by Lewis XIV. were very considerable, but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. It was stipulated that the French monarch should acknowledge William to be lawful sovereign of England, and make no further attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms; that the duchy of Luxembourg, Charleroy, Mons, &c., as well as the places taken in Catalonia during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Fribourg, Brisgau, and Philipsbourg should be given up to the emperor, and the duchies of Lorraine and Bar be restored to their native prince.

Scarcely had the emperor acceded to the treaty of Ryswick, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta, a small village on the banks of the Theisse, in Hungary. The celebrated Prince Eugene, of Savoy, had succeeded the Elector of Saxony in the command of the Imperialists, and to his consummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary success. Mustapha II. commanded his army in person. The battle was of short duration, but uncommonly bloody. About 20,000 Turks were left dead on the field, and 10,000 were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the sword. This victory broke the spirit of the Turks; and the haughty Mustapha, after attempting, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had lost at Zenta, agreed to listen to proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, (1699,) and signed a treaty, in which it was stipulated that all Hungary on this side the Save, with Transylvania and Sclavonia, should be ceded to the house of Austria.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE PEACE OF RYSWICK, TO THE GRAND ALLIANCE, 1701.

1697.—THE first object which engaged the general attention of Europe, after the peace of Ryswick, was the settlement of the Spanish succession. The declining health of Charles II. gave new spirit to the competitors for his crown. These were Lewis XIV., the Emperor Leopold, and the Elector of Bavaria. Lewis and the emperor were in the same degree of consanguinity to Charles II., being both grandsons of Philip

III. The dauphin and the emperor's eldest son, Joseph, King of the Romans, had moreover a double claim, their mothers being two daughters of Philip IV. Priority of birth was claimed by the house of Bourbon, Lewis and his son being descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; the imperial family, on the other hand, alleged the solemn renunciation made by Lewis and his father to the Spanish succession, and their descent from Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria. The Elector of Bavaria claimed as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the Emperor Leopold, by the Infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV., who had declared *her* descendants heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Teresa. The general interests of Europe seemed to require that the Prince of Bavaria should succeed to the Spanish monarchy, but his two competitors were obstinate in their claims. The body of the Spanish nation favoured the lineal succession of the house of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princess, supported the pretensions of the emperor. Lewis XIV., sensible that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, proposed to the King of England a partition of the Spanish dominions. To carry this design into effect, a treaty of partition was signed, in 1698, by England, Holland, and France. Intelligence of the secret convention was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spanish ministers were filled with indignation, at finding a division of their monarchy made by foreigners, during the life of their sovereign. Charles II. immediately, by will, constituted the electoral Prince of Bavaria his sole heir, agreeably to the testament of Philip IV.; but the sudden death of this prince, the following year, revived all the former contentions.

While these disputes agitated the south and west, two extraordinary men were rising into notice in the north of Europe,—Peter I., of Russia, and Charles XII., of Sweden. Peter had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks, in 1696, and the taking of Asoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; he projected a junction of the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Don or Tanais, by means of canals, thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean. He resolved to build a city on

the Baltic, which should become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extensive empire. Animated by the noble ambition of introducing among his people the improvements of other nations, he quitted his dominions in 1697, laboured as a journeyman in the dockyards at Amsterdam, studied navigation, fortification, and all the sciences necessary for the sovereign of a barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he was honourably received and assisted in his literary pursuits by King William. The peace of Carlowitz, concluded soon after the return of the czar, afforded him leisure to prosecute his plans. As he wanted a port on the Baltic, he resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, N. E. of Livonia, which had formerly been in the possession of his ancestors. With this view he entered into a league against Sweden, with Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski on the throne of Poland. The war was begun by the King of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the Duke of Holstein Gottorp, brother-in-law to Charles XII., and after taking some inconsiderable places, invested Tonningen, in 1705, while the Russians, Poles, and Saxons entered Livonia and Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invasion of Holstein, he resolved to carry the war into Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carlscroon, having appointed a council from among the senate, to regulate his affairs during his absence. The Swedish fleet was joined, at the mouth of the sound, by a squadron of English and Dutch men-of-war. The Danish fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded, and the King of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Tonningen, was cooped up in Holstein by the Swedish frigates. In this critical season, the enterprising spirit of the young King of Sweden suggested to him the means of finishing the war at a blow. He proposed to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blocked it up by sea. Impatient to reach the shore, he leaped into the sea, sword in hand, and being followed by all his officers and soldiers, quickly put to flight the Danish troops who attempted to oppose their landing. Charles, who had never before been present at a general discharge of muskets loaded with ball, asked Major Stuart what occasioned the whistling which he heard: "It is the sound of the bullets," said the major, "which they fire

against your majesty." "'Tis well," said the king; "this shall henceforth be my music." The citizens of Copenhagen, filled with consternation, sent a deputation to Charles, beseeching him not to bombard the town. In the mean time the King of Denmark was in the most perilous situation; pressed by land on one side, and confined by sea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from submission. The King of England offered his mediation, and a treaty highly honourable to Charles was concluded at Travendal, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland.

In 1700 died Charles II. of Spain, the last king of the eldest Austrian branch, after having, by a second will, appointed the Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, his successor in all his dominions. Lewis XIV. accepted the will, and the Duke of Anjou, with the universal consent of the Spanish nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V. War was now become inevitable. The securing of commerce and of barriers, the preventing a union of the two powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and the preserving in some degree an equilibrium of power, were matters of too much importance to Europe in general, to be rested on the moderation of the French. The vigorous steps, however, taken in the Spanish Netherlands, induced William to come to an accommodation with Lewis, but the emperor continued to dispute the title of Philip V. He sent an army of 30,000 men into Italy under Prince Eugene, to take possession of the Duchy of Milan as a fief of the empire: the Duke of Savoy favoured the Imperialists, and the French were repulsed with great loss. Leopold had already secured the concurrence of the Elector of Brandenburg, by dignifying him with the title of King of Prussia. Such was the posture of affairs when the famous treaty called the *Grand Alliance* was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the King of England, and the States-General of the United Provinces. The avowed objects of the treaty were, to procure satisfaction to the emperor; to obtain security to the English and Dutch, for their dominions and commerce; to prevent the union of France and Spain, and to hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America. While this confederacy was forming, the north-east quarter of Europe was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, than

he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva with 80,000 men. Charles advanced to its relief, forced the entrenchments of the Russians with only 8000 men, and entered Narva in triumph. The following spring, 1701, he entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the King of Poland had in vain besieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were posted along the Dwina, which is very broad in that place, and Charles was under the necessity of forcing a passage. This he effected, though with much difficulty, the Swedes being driven back into the river after they had formed themselves upon the land: their young king rallied them in the water, and led them into the plain, where a general engagement ensued, and the Swedes obtained a complete, but bloody victory. He next advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland, which, with all the towns of that duchy, submitted at discretion. From Courland he passed into Lithuania, conquering every thing in his progress. He is said to have expressed a particular satisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Augustus, King of Poland, and the Czar Peter had planned his destruction but a few months before. It was here that, under the stimulating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects

CHAPTER XXVIII.

EUROPE, FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE GENERAL WAR, IN 1701,
TO THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, IN 1706.

1701.—Soon after the signing of the Grand Alliance, James II. died at St. Germain, and Lewis XIV., in violation of the treaty of Ryswick, acknowledged the son of that unfortunate monarch King of Great Britain and Ireland, under the title of James III. The Marquis de Torcy attempted to apologize to the King of England for this step of his master, but William thought the affront too great to be borne. He recalled his ambassador from France, and ordered the French envoy to quit his dominions. The English Parliament entered warmly into his views, and voted forty thousand men for land service agreeably to the terms of the Grand Alliance. William was making vast preparations for opening the ensuing campaign, when a fall from his horse threw him into a fever, which put

a period to his life. (1702.) His reign, though lenient in many respects, was nevertheless distinguished by several very severe acts passed against the Catholics. Banishment was inflicted upon all priests and schoolmasters, and perpetual imprisonment in case of a return. No Catholic born after March, 1700, could inherit either title or estate, purchase lands, &c.*

The quiet accession of Anne, only surviving daughter of James II., and the early declaration of her resolution to pursue the objects of the Grand Alliance, revived the spirits of the confederates. Lord Godolphin was placed at the head of the treasury; the Earl of Marlborough was appointed commander-in-chief of the English forces in Flanders, and immediately despatched to Holland. All the allies engaged with alacrity to furnish their several quotas, and war against France was declared on the same day at London, the Hague, and Vienna. The first campaign, however, was not distinguished by any great event. In the beginning of 1703, the Duke of Savoy and Peter II. of Portugal, united themselves to the confederates. To the defection of these two princes the French ascribed their subsequent misfortunes in the war. Lewis XIV., however, made great preparations for opening the next campaign, and was by no means wanting in success. Marshal Villars gained a complete victory over the Imperialists in the plains of Hockstedt. The victorious army put the Elector of Bavaria in possession of Augsburg, and the road to Vienna being thus laid open, the emperor trembled in his capital. In Italy, where Staremberg commanded for the emperor, the Duke of Vendôme reduced Barsillio and took possession of the duchy of Modena. The allies were more successful in the Netherlands, but their acquisitions by no means balanced the advantages of the enemy in other quarters. The emperor, however, emboldened by the alliance of Portugal, from which a passage might be opened into the disputed kingdom, made his second son, Charles, assume the title of King of Spain, and the archduke immediately set out for the Hague; from thence he passed into England, and was conducted to Lisbon by a powerful fleet, having on board a considerable body of land forces.

While the Queen of England was exerting herself with so much vigour in a foreign quarrel, in which her subjects were little interested, the greatest disorders prevailed in her own dominions. The ferment in Scotland, occasioned by the mis-

* The first act of indulgence showed to Catholics in the reign of George III. was the repeal of this act. (1778.)

carriage of the settlement at Darien,* had never yet fully subsided; and although that kingdom readily acknowledged the queen's authority, the hottest jealousies there prevailed, among all ranks of men, respecting the independency of their crown, and the freedom of their commerce. Nor was the English nation free from discontents. The queen had roused the resentment of the whigs by throwing herself into the hands of the tories, who, conjecturing that she must naturally be disposed to favour the succession of her brother, held a secret correspondence with the court of St. Germain, where hopes were even entertained of a repeal of the act of settlement.

1704.—As the success of the two foregoing campaigns, by making the allies masters of the Maese and Spanish Guelder land, had provided a strong barrier for the United Provinces Marlborough† proposed to march into the heart of Germany, in order to protect the emperor, now almost besieged in his capital by the Hungarian malcontents on one side, and by the French and Bavarians on the other. He ordered the Confederates to advance towards Coblenz, where he joined them. Crossing the Rhine at that place, and successively the Maine and Necker, he was met by Prince Eugene, at Mondelsheim. After the junction of the two armies, they proceeded towards

* The Scots, agreeably to powers granted by William III. to his commissioner, and confirmed by letters patent, had planted, in 1689, a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, alarmed the court of Madrid, who made warm remonstrances to the English government on the subject. William, therefore, ordered the governors of the English settlements to hold no communication with them; and, thus deprived of provisions, and all support in America, the Scottish settlers were obliged to surrender to the Spanish.

† General Churchill was raised to the peerage by James II., and created Earl of Marlborough by William, but was afterwards confined to the Tower on a suspicion of Jacobitism. Under Anne, he may be said to have governed the kingdom, through the influence of his countess, a woman of a bold, intriguing spirit; she was afterwards supplanted in the queen's affections by Mrs. Masham, a relative, who had been raised by her from a state of dependence. Marlborough was created a duke, by Queen Anne, and after gaining the battle of Blenheim, was presented by her majesty with the manor of Woodstock, in which she ordered Blenheim castle to be built for him. He received the thanks of Parliament, during ten victorious campaigns, yet lived to become the object of jealousy and parliamentary censure; and on the change of ministry was dismissed from all his employments. After his disgrace he retired to the Low Countries, where he was received with the greatest honours. He returned to England some months before the queen's death, and again enjoyed royal favour on the accession of George I. He died in 1722, aged 73.

Ingolstadt. The opposing forces were now nearly equal, each consisting of about 80,000 men. The French and Bavarians were advantageously posted near the village of Blenheim. A desperate battle ensued, in which the French and Bavarians lost near 40,000 men, including killed and taken. Every trophy that can distinguish a complete triumph, fell into the hands of the conquerors. No modern victory, between disciplined armies, was ever more decisive than that of Blenheim: none could be followed by more important consequences. The emperor was relieved from his fears, the Hungarian malcontents were overawed, and the conquests and dominions of the Elector of Bavaria fell at once into the hands of Leopold. Broken, ruined, and dispersed, the forces of Lewis XIV. left an uninterrupted march to the confederates from the Danube to the Rhine; and the remnant of that army, which at the beginning of the season had spread terror to the gates of Vienna, was obliged to take shelter within the frontiers of France. The victors crossed the Rhine, they entered Alsace; and the important fortresses of Landau and Trierbach surrendered to them before the close of the campaign. On the side of Portugal, the archduke, who had assumed the title of Charles III., was unable to make any progress; but Philip V. carried the war into Portugal, and took several places. The operations at sea, this memorable year, were of great importance. The combined fleet of England and Holland, which carried the archduke to Lisbon, having failed in an attempt upon Barcelona, appeared before Gibraltar; and that strong fortress, hitherto deemed impregnable, was taken at the first assault. Astonished at the intrepidity of the English sailors, who ascended the mole sword in hand, the governor immediately surrendered the place.

1705.—Lewis XIV. possessed in an eminent degree that Christian fortitude which enables the soul to bear misfortunes with composure and resignation. Though accustomed to victory, he received the intelligence of the ruin of his army at Blenheim without any marks of confusion, and took the most vigorous steps for repairing his loss, as well as for checking the progress of the victorious enemy. Understanding that the Duke of Marlborough intended next campaign to carry the war by the Moselle, into the heart of his dominions, he assembled on that side an army of 70,000 men, under Villars, whose conduct was so masterly, that he prevented Marlborough from effecting any enterprise of consequence during the whole campaign. The death of the Emperor Leo-

pold made no change in the operations of the war, though his son and successor, Joseph, was considered as a prince of greater vigour and abilities. In Italy the French maintained their superiority. The Duke of Vendôme took Villa Franca and Veru; he repulsed the Imperialists under Prince Eugene, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, was obliged to shut himself up in Turin. The Confederates were more successful in Spain. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were yielded without a blow; Barcelona was obliged to surrender, with almost the whole kingdom of Valencia, as well as the province of Catalonia. In 1706, the allied army, under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, gained the celebrated battle of Ramilies. The total conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders, was the immediate consequence of this victory. Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Oudenarde, and other places, surrendered at discretion. Ostend, so famous for its long siege in the last century, put the first stop to the progress of the Confederates. It was, however, forced to capitulate, after a siege of ten days. To repair these losses, Lewis ordered the Duke of Feuillade to besiege Turin; but Eugene advanced to its relief, routed and dispersed the whole army, and the house of Bourbon lost, at one blow, the duchies of Milan and Mantua, the principality of Piedmont, and eventually the kingdom of Naples. In Spain, the English and Portuguese armies penetrated even to Madrid; and Philip V. was obliged to remove with his court to Burgos.

During these transactions in the south and west of Europe, the affairs of the north and east had undergone a considerable change. Charles XII. of Sweden, burning with revenge, obstinately refused to listen to any accommodation, and answered the Polish deputies that he would confer with them at Warsaw. He accordingly marched towards that capital, and declared he would never grant peace to the Poles till they had elected a new king. Augustus, on receiving this intelligence, saw he must either relinquish his crown, or preserve it by force of arms. The contending kings met in a spacious plain near Glissaw, between Warsaw and Cracow. Charles gained a complete victory, with all the honours that could attend it. He halted not a moment on the field of battle, but marched direct to Cracow, which surrendered without firing a gun. Having received a strong reinforcement from Pomeralia, he marched against the remains of the Saxon army, came up with them near Pultash, and soon routed and dispersed them. Augustus retired to Thorn, an ancient city on the

Vistula. Charles followed him and besieged the place; it surrendered within a month, but Augustus had found means to escape into Saxony. It was the intention of the King of Sweden, and the wish of the diet, to raise to the throne James Sobieski, eldest son of the late king; but that prince being taken prisoner, together with his second brother, Constantine, by a party of Saxon dragoons, the crown of Poland was offered to a younger brother, named Alexander, who generously rejected it. Nothing, he said, should ever induce him to take advantage of the misfortune of his elder brothers; and he entreated Charles to employ his victorious arms in restoring liberty to the unhappy captives. This circumstance having disconcerted the measures of the Swedish monarch, his minister, Count Piper, advised Charles to take the crown of Poland to himself; but that romantic hero answered, that he had more pleasure in giving away, than in conquering kingdoms. He accordingly recommended to the Polish diet Stanislaus Leczinski, Palatine of Bavaria, who was immediately raised to the throne.

While Charles XII. was thus imposing a king on the vanquished Poles, and the Danish monarch durst not presume to create any disturbance; while the new King of Prussia courted his friendship, and his antagonist, Augustus, was forced to take refuge in his hereditary dominions, the Czar Peter was growing every day more formidable. He had made a powerful diversion in favour of Augustus. He took Norva by assault, in 1704, after a regular siege. He was at the same time carrying on the building of his future capital, Petersburg. That city is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island around which the Neva divides itself into several branches before it falls into the Gulf of Finland. In 1703, Peter had drawn thither 300,000 men to labour in this great work. While the czar was employed in creating as it were a new people, he still held out a helping hand to the fugitive Augustus, who had again found his way into Poland, had retaken Warsaw, and been obliged a second time to abandon it.

In 1705, Peter sent 60,000 Russians to his assistance: but the King of Sweden was attended by his usual good fortune, the effect of his active and enterprising spirit. The Russian armies were attacked and defeated so fast, that the last was routed before it had heard of the defeat of the first. Nothing could stop the progress of the Swedes, or equal their celerity. If a river interposed, they swam across it; and Charles, at the

head of his cavalry, marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours. Struck with terror, the Russians retired beyond the Boristhenes, leaving Augustus to his fate. In the mean time, Schullemburg, having repassed the Oder, offered battle to Mareschal Renschild, who was reckoned the King of Sweden's best general, and called the Parmenio of the Alexander of the North. The Russians, though double the number of the Swedes, were defeated with great slaughter. To relieve Poland, Charles now desired to remove the scene of war into the hereditary dominions of Augustus, and accordingly directed his march towards Silesia, passed the Oder, entered Saxony, and pitched his camp at Alt Ramstadt, near the plains of Lutzen. Augustus, unable any longer to contend with such an adversary, sued for peace, but could only obtain it on promising to renounce forever all pretensions to the crown of Poland, and acknowledging Stanislaus lawful sovereign of that kingdom.

In 1706, Lewis XIV. made very advantageous offers of peace, but they were rejected; and it was resolved to conclude no treaty with the house of Bourbon while a prince of that family sat on the throne of Spain. This year was signalized by the union of England and Scotland under one legislature; a union which had been often attempted in vain, and was at last accomplished after long and warm debates between the commissioners of the two kingdoms. In consequence of this famous treaty, both kingdoms were to form but one, by the name of Great Britain, and the succession to the United Kingdom was fixed to the person and successors of the Princess Sophia, Duchess-dowager of Hanover, to the exclusion of all the Catholic descendants of the house of Stuart.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE, FROM 1706, TO THE CONFERENCES HELD AT GERTRUYDENBERG, IN 1710.

1707.—THE French troops, to the number of 15,000, being obliged to evacuate Lombardy, by a capitulation signed in the beginning of March, were despatched to the assistance of Philip V. Modena and Milan surrendered successively to the allies; the whole kingdom of Naples was reduced, and the few places still held by the French or Spanish garrisons, fell one

by one before the close of the campaign. In Spain, the fortune of the war was very different: the allies received a dreadful overthrow at Almanza, from the united armies of France and Spain, under the Duke of Berwick, who, following up the advantage thus obtained, soon recovered the whole kingdom of Valencia, and, marching into Arragon, took the cities of Saragossa and Lerida. Nor did the affairs of the confederates wear a more favourable aspect in Germany. Marshal Villars laid the duchy of Wirtemberg under contribution, and penetrated as far as the Danube: nor was the superiority of the French the only thing the empire had to fear. Charles XII., who had remained in Saxony during the winter, found some pretence for quarrelling with the court of Vienna. From complaints he proceeded to demands, which he continued to urge with an obstinacy suitable to his character. The Queen of England, afraid that the pride of Joseph might overcome his attention to the interests of the allies, ordered the Duke of Marlborough to repair to Saxony, and attempt to soothe the King of Sweden. Marlborough, who was no less a statesman and courtier than a general, and who had acquired by a long course of experience the art of diving into the character of men, soon discovered the inclinations and views of the King of Sweden. In the pleasure with which he talked of the views of the allies, Marlborough perceived his aversion to France; while the kindling of his eye at the name of the czar, and a map of Russia lying on the table, made this politician acquainted with the designs of Charles. He therefore took leave without making him any proposals, sensible that his disputes with the emperor could be easily accommodated, as all his demands would be granted. England and Holland accordingly guarantied the promises of the court of Vienna; and the czar, having entered Poland, the King of Sweden re-passed the Oder in quest of new victories.

In 1708, the allies gained the battle of Oudenarde; took Lisle, after an obstinate siege; as also Ghent and Bruges, before the end of the campaign. A variety of circumstances, a famine in France, discontent and disunion among the servants of the crown, induced Lewis to offer terms of peace, at once adequate to the success of his enemies, and suitable to the melancholy situation of his own affairs. He agreed to yield the whole Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria; to give a barrier to Holland; to acknowledge the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, the Duke of Hanover as ninth elector of the empire; to own the right of Queen Anne to the British

throne, and to restore every thing taken in the war. But these terms, though so advantageous, were rejected by Marlborough, Eugene, and the pensionary Heinsius. Lewis then threw himself upon his people, and explained his own ample concessions, and the haughty terms proposed by the allies. The pride of the French nation was roused. They resolved to make new efforts in support of their humbled monarch. In the following campaign, 1709, the allies took Tournay and Mons, and boasted of the victory of Malplaquet, although in effect they gained little beside the field of battle, and that they purchased with the lives of 20,000 men. The French did not lose above half the number. Though the misfortunes of France during this campaign were by no means so depressing as she had reason to apprehend, Lewis XIV. renewed his applications for peace, and conferences were appointed at Gertruydenburg, to adjust the terms. But before we enter into the particulars of that negotiation, it will be proper to carry forward the story of Charles XII. and his antagonist, Peter the Great.

The King of Sweden having quitted Saxony, in 1707, and returned at the head of 43,000 men, to Poland, forced the czar to retire, on his approach, towards the Boristhenes or Nieper. Charles being determined to come to an engagement, followed him by forced marches to the borders of his own dominions. Peter then sent serious proposals of peace to Charles. "I will treat at Moscow," said the Swedish monarch. "My brother Charles," replied the czar, when informed of this haughty answer, "always affects to play the Alexander; but he will not, I hope, find in me a Darius." The czar immediately destroyed all the roads, and desolated the country leading to Moscow. Charles, thus thwarted in his favourite project of proceeding thither straight, resolved to make himself a passage through the Ukraine. In this mad march, he had the misfortune to see 2,000 of his men perish of cold and hunger; yet he still pressed forward, and, after a variety of obstructions and delays, occasioned by the hovering parties of the enemy, and the most intense frost ever known in those northern regions, he arrived, in 1709, in the neighbourhood of Pultowa, a small Russian town, at the eastern extremity of the Ukraine, on the river Worshlau. Pultowa was strongly garrisoned, and the czar lay at no great distance, with an army of 70,000 men; yet Charles obstinately persisted in his design of investing the town with his half-famished army, now reduced to 27,000 men. The garrison bravely repelled the assault, and

the King of Sweden was wounded as he was viewing the works. Meanwhile, the czar advanced to the relief of Pultowa; Charles could not bear the thought of waiting for his enemy; he rashly advanced to meet him, and ordered his army to attack the Russian camp. The Swedes charged with incredible fury, but after a desperate combat of two hours, they were utterly routed and dispersed: 9000 of the vanquished were left dead in the field, 6000 were taken, together with the king's military chest, containing the spoils of Poland and Saxony. The remaining 12,000 men were obliged to surrender on the banks of the Boristhenes, for want of boats to carry them over the river. Charles himself, accompanied by 300 of his guards, with difficulty escaped to Bender, a Turkish town in Moldavia. No victory could be attended with more important consequences than that gained by Peter the Great, at Pultowa. The King of Sweden lost in one day the fruits of nine years' success in war, and that veteran army, which had spread terror over Europe, was totally annihilated. The czar was not only relieved of his apprehensions, but enabled to forward his plans of improvement, by means of the industry and ingenuity of his Swedish prisoners, whom necessity obliged to exert their talents in the most remote parts of Siberia. The Elector of Saxony, hearing of the defeat of his conqueror, protested against the treaty of Alt Ranstadt, as having been extorted from him by force, and re-entered Poland. Peter revived the ancient pretensions of the czars to Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, and part of Finland; Denmark laid claim to Scania; the King of Prussia to Pomerania; and had not the emperor and the maritime powers interposed, the Swedish monarchy would have been rent to pieces. During these transactions Charles XII. remained at Bender, where he endeavoured to engage the Turks in a war with Russia.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM 1710, TO THE DEATH OF QUEEN ANNE, 1714.

1710.—THE confederates rising in their demands upon Lewis XIV., he judged it impossible to submit to their insolent terms, and yet was unwilling to break off the treaty. The conferences at Gertruydenberg were therefore idly protracted while the armies on both sides took the field. The campaign

of 1710 was distinguished only by the capture of some towns in Flanders by the allies, and by a battle in Spain, in which both sides claimed the advantage.

In 1711, died the Emperor Joseph; and his brother, the archduke, who had so long contended for the crown of Spain, and even assumed the title of Charles III., was unanimously raised to the imperial dignity, by the name of Charles VI. This event, which entirely changed the face of affairs, together with the success of Marshal Villars, in Flanders, where he completely routed a detachment of 14,000 English, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle, inspired the house of Bourbon with the most sanguine hopes of peace. General conferences were accordingly held at Utrecht, in the beginning of 1712, for restoring tranquillity to Europe. The Dauphin of France, surnamed the Great, having died the preceding year, was succeeded in his title by his eldest son, the Duke of Burgundy; that amiable and virtuous prince died in 1712, to the inexpressible grief of the nation, and three weeks after was followed to the grave by his son, the Duke of Brittany; so that there now stood only the Duke of Anjou, a sickly infant, between the King of Spain and the throne of France. The first care of the confederates, therefore, was that Philip V. should transfer to his younger brother, the Duke of Berry, all right to the crown of France; that the isle of Sicily should be ceded to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king; that Spanish Guelderland should be given to the King of Prussia, in exchange for the principality of Orange, and that his regal title should be acknowledged; that the Rhine should form the boundary of the German empire on the side of France; that the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, &c., should be ceded to the house of Austria, as also the Spanish Netherlands; that the Elector of Bavaria should be put in possession of the island of Sardinia, with the title of king; that certain places in North America and the West Indies should be ceded or restored by France to Great Britain, and that the island of Minorca and fortress of Gibraltar, conquered from Spain, should remain in the possession of the English. Charles VI. was obstinate in refusing to sign the general pacification; but finding himself unable to bear alone the weight of a disastrous war, his army under Prince Eugene not having been in a condition during the whole campaign to face the French under Marshal Villars, who took, successively, Worms, Spire, and the fortress of Landau, he came to an agreement in spring, 1714, to which the King of Spain also assented. The terms

of this treaty signed at Radstadt, were less favourable to the emperor than those he had refused at Utrecht.

Philip V., though now freed from the arms of the confederates, was by no means in quiet possession of his kingdom. The Catalans were still in arms. Vast preparations were made for the reduction of Barcelona, and the Duke of Berwick besieged it by land and by sea. After a vigorous and desperate resistance, the town was taken, and all Catalonia submitted: thus was extinguished the last spark of that great fire, kindled by the will of Charles II. of Spain, which had so long laid waste the finest countries of Europe.

In 1714 died Queen Anne of England, in the fiftieth year of her age. The character of this princess is neither striking nor complicated; her capacity was extremely limited, nor were her manners or person prepossessing. Her conduct towards her father was a stain upon her private character, which, in other respects, was blameless. She was continually governed by favourites, but her popularity concealed the weakness of her personal authority, and the great abilities of her principal servants, to whom she was indebted for it, threw a veil over her own feeble qualities. According to the act of settlement, on the demise of Queen Anne, the Elector of Hanover was proclaimed king, by the title of George I. He was then in the fifty-fourth year of his age. It has been observed of him, that in contradistinction to the impolitic maxim too frequently embraced by the princes of the house of Stuart, of trusting to the attachment of their friends, without rewarding them, and attempting by favours to make friends of their enemies, he made it a rule not to forget his friends, and to set his enemies at defiance. He soon found that, of all the parties in the kingdom, the Whigs alone were attached to his cause. The Tories in general were inclined to Jacobitism; and a small body of foreign troops was only wanting to have made the contest doubtful between the house of Hanover and that of Stuart. Such a body of troops the Duke of Ormond and other zealous Jacobites in England, eagerly solicited from Prince James, then known in France by the name of Chevalier de St. George. The Duke of Berwick used all his influence to procure a few regiments from Versailles; but Lewis XIV., now broken by years and infirmities, and standing on the verge of the grave, was unwilling to engage in a new war, or hazard any measure that might disturb the minority of his great-grandson. He therefore declined taking openly any part in favour of the excluded family; and the vigilance of

the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador in France, effectually prevented any secret aids from operating to the disadvantage of his master.

The death of Lewis XIV., which happened soon after, was a fresh blow to the Jacobites. He died September 1st, 1715, aged seventy-seven years, after a vigorous and splendid reign of seventy-two years. No prince, says the Duke of Berwick, was ever so little known as Lewis XIV. He was born with an air of majesty, which struck every one so much, that nobody could approach him without being seized with awe and respect. He was the most polite man in his kingdom; and his answers were accompanied with so many obliging expressions, that if he granted a request, the obligation was doubled by the manner of conferring it; and if he refused, it was difficult to complain. It was that air of majesty, mentioned by the Duke of Berwick, which so disconcerted an old officer who came to ask a favour of Lewis XIV., that he could only say, in a faltering voice, "I hope your majesty will believe I do not thus tremble before your enemies." The character of this prince is variously represented; all agree that he held the reins of government with a degree of firmness bordering on despotism; but this the necessity of the times seemed to require. A misunderstanding between this king and Pope Innocent XI., was productive of unhappy consequences to religion during a part of his reign. The contest arose on the subject of privileges, respecting the nomination to ecclesiastical benefices, claimed by Lewis and refused by Innocent. As both parties refused to abandon their respective claims, many bishoprics in France remained without pastors for a considerable space of time. In order to mortify the pope, Lewis assembled a council of the French clergy in 1682, at which the celebrated and learned Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, presided. The famous declaration, made in this assembly, in the name of the Gallican church, (though only thirty-two bishops were present,) was derogatory to the authority of the pope, scandalized the faithful, and afforded a subject of joy to the Jansenists.* The

* Jansenism, though it takes its name from Jansenius, Bishop of Yprès, owes its existence to five other innovators who were linked with him to overthrow religion, while they professed themselves its most devoted friends. The two most noted members, besides Jansenius, were the Abbé St. Cyran and the Sieur Antoine Arnaud. Their errors were founded on erroneous conclusions from the writings of St. Augustine; each chief had his task assigned him; an excessive severity of morals was the lesson he had to teach, and its obvious effect was to deter men from the practice, and, by degrees, from the belief of a religion which, according to these new teachers,

four propositions it contained were condemned by the Pope, and peace was not restored during the life of Innocent, or that of his successor, Alexander VIII., till, in 1692, under Innocent XII., Lewis solemnly relinquished the Gallican propositions, and the Pope, on his side, granted canonical institution to those whom the king had nominated to fill the vacant sees. But, though Lewis, by the unhappy bent of human nature, occasionally swerved from his duty, and disgraced his private character by licentiousness and immorality, yet he loved and respected religion. Infidelity, which since, like an impetuous torrent, has swept away in its course the altar and the throne, dared not then appear. Had he been less zealous for the preservation of the true faith, he would have found admirers among those who decry him, and panegyrists among his censors. Having lost his queen, Maria Theresa, in 1683, he soon after married the celebrated Madame de Maintenon, whose exalted qualities have been the theme of many eloquent pens. To her influence over the king is ascribed, in great measure, the wonderful change that took place in his sentiments and conduct, during the latter years of his life. The death of Lewis was that of a Christian and a hero. But what particularly immortalizes the name of Lewis XIV., is the protection he granted to the sciences and the fine arts, which caused his reign to be styled the *Augustan Age*, and to form an era in the annals of France. To name the great men, whose talents he knew how to appreciate, as well as to stimulate into action, would alone fill a volume. The chief generals who commanded his armies, were the great Condé, the Marshals de Turenne, Luxembourg, Crequi, Catinat, and Villars; his chief ministers were Colbert and Louvois. Among the literati who adorned this period, we discover the names of Racine and Corneille, tragic poets, who attained a high reputation; Moliere excelled in comedy, Boileau in works of satire and criticism; Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Flechier, and Massillon, carried pulpit eloquence to the highest degree of perfection; De Tillemont, Pere Daniel, and Rollin, were eminent

exacted duties above their strength. The principles of the sect were compiled by Jansenius, and compose a large folio volume, entitled *Augustinus*. This book the author, on his death-bed, submitted to the judgment of the See of Rome. It was accordingly examined and condemned by Urban VIII., 1641. Five propositions, extracted from it, were afterwards juridically denounced by Pope Innocent X., the successor of Urban, in a formal instrument, signed by eighty-five bishops of France, and solemnly proscribed and condemned by him as heretical, in a dogmatical bull, May 31st, 1653.

historians.* Montesquieu has acquired a fatal celebrity as the legislator of nations, by the publication of "Considerations on the causes of the grandeur and decline of the Roman empire," and "The Spirit of the Laws." Pascal abused his splendid talents, by employing them in the support of the errors of Jansenism; but the incomparable Fénelon claims all the admiration that is due to great abilities and eloquence, when united with the most exalted virtue. He rendered essential service to the Duke de Bourgogne, who became a model of learning and piety, and his labours were rewarded, in 1659, with the archbishopric of Cambray. He died in the exercise of his pastoral functions, 1716. England, at the same time, produced many eminent men. Dryden, celebrated for his translation of Virgil, died in 1701. Addison, who wrote the most admired papers in the Spectator, Tatler, and Guardian, was noted for the elegance of his diction; he died 1715. Sir Isaac Newton, the prince of philosophers, died 1727, and Dr. Halley, a famous astronomer, 1742. Prior, Congreve, Blackmore, Philips, Garth, and Rowe, are names which should not be omitted. In Ireland, Dr. Parnell, a poet and divine, was the friend and correspondent of Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot, and other eminent wits of this period, who flourished later than those we have already named, as included in the biography of the seventeenth century. The Rev. John Gother was the most noted Catholic writer, and Dr. Burnet, and Dr. Cave, were eminent Protestant divines and historians.

The Duke of Orleans, who was appointed Regent of France during the minority of Lewis XV., in contradiction to the will of the deceased monarch, affected privately to espouse the interests of the house of Stuart; but the exhausted state of France, and the difficulty of maintaining his own authority against the other princes of the blood, induced him publicly to cultivate a good understanding with the English government; and even to adopt, though with seeming reluctance, such measures as it suggested for defeating the designs of the house of Stuart. Nevertheless, the partisans of the

* De Thou, first president of the Parliament of Paris, may more properly be reckoned an historical writer of the sixteenth century. He died in 1617, and stands foremost among the modern corrupters of history, in which he has been too successfully followed by Hume, Voltaire, and many other inferior imitators in France and England. Among this crowd of writers, whose works are only proper to mislead youth, and render religion odious, may be particularly named the Abbés Raynal and Millot, both historians of the last century.

fallen dynasty, who were still very numerous, thought this a favourable opportunity to raise the standard of insurrection. The Earl of Marr, assembling 300 of his vassals, proclaimed the accession of James VIII., and being joined by several Highland chiefs and their clans, attacked the Duke of Argyle in the neighbourhood of Dunblane, in September, 1715. After an engagement of several hours, the armies separated, both sides claiming the victory. This battle, though so little decisive, proved fatal in its consequences to the Jacobite cause. Lord Lovat, the chief of the Frasers, who seemed disposed to join in the insurrection, now declared in favour of the established government; while the Marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army, and the clans, disgusted at their want of success, dispersed on the approach of winter. In England the insurrection wore for a time a more formidable aspect. The Earl of Derwentwater, and other Jacobite leaders took up arms in considerable numbers; but dissension arising in their councils, they separated in various directions; and the main body, being surrounded by the king's troops, surrendered at discretion. The officers were shot as deserters, the noblemen and gentlemen were committed to the Tower, and the others imprisoned at Carlisle. In this unfavourable position of his affairs, James landed in Scotland, was again proclaimed king, made his public entry into Dundee, in January, 1716, and fixed on the 23d of the same month for the day of his coronation. But, receiving intelligence of the near approach of the Duke of Argyle, who had been reinforced by 6000 Dutch auxiliaries, and seeing no prospect of fortune proving favourable to his arms, he withdrew with the Earl of Marr to Montrose, and shortly after took ship for France. The main body of the insurgents moved northward so rapidly as to elude pursuit. All who thought they could not hope for pardon, embarked at Aberdeen; the clans dispersed among their native hills, and the whole country submitted to Argyle. Such was the issue of an insurrection which proved fatal to so many noble families, and cost the lives of so many brave men. The Earls of Derwentwater and Nairn, with several other noblemen, suffered the death of traitors. Lord Nithisdale, who had been sentenced to a similar fate, owed his safety to the affectionate ingenuity of his countess, who contrived his escape from the Tower in female attire, which she had carried thither for the purpose, when admitted to pay him a farewell visit. Many of the lower classes fell a sacrifice to the cause they had

embraced, and about a thousand were transported to North America. The danger of the state was made a plea for lengthening the period of Parliament, which was extended to seven years, by the exertions of Walpole, now first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer. Some years afterwards, (1722,) when a new plot was set on foot for the restoration of the Stuart family, (but discovered in its birth,) the celebrated Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was banished on suspicion of guilt; the *habeas corpus* act was suspended for a whole year, and vigorous measures taken for preventing a rebellion.

CHAPTER XXXI.

RUSSIA, TURKEY, AND THE NORTH, FROM THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA, IN 1709, TO THE DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT, IN 1725.

THE King of Denmark, having declared war against Sweden, soon after the defeat of the Swedish monarch at Pultowa, invaded Scania, or Schonen; but his army was defeated with great slaughter, near Elsenberg, by General Steenbock. Charles XII. was so much delighted with the news of this victory, that he exclaimed, "My brave Swedes, should I once more join you, we will beat them all." The King of Sweden was honourably received at Bender, and, though destitute of resources, still his mind was occupied with the thought of dethroning the czar. With this view, his envoy at Constantinople delivered memorials to the grand vizier, and his friend, Poniatowsky, supported these solicitations by his intrigues. Achmet III., the reigning sultan, presented Poniatowsky with a purse of 1000 ducats, and the grand vizier promised him to take his king in one hand and a sword in the other, and conduct him to Moscow at the head of 200,000 men. But the czar's money soon changed the sentiments of the Turkish minister. The military chest, which Peter had taken at Pultowa, furnished him with new arms to wound the vanquished Charles, whose blood-earned treasures were turned against himself. While the obstinacy of the King of Sweden, in refusing to return to his own dominions in any other character than that of a conqueror, made his fate depend upon the caprice of viziers; while he was alternately receiving favours and affronts from the great enemy of Christianity; the Russian

monarch was exhibiting to his people a spectacle not unworthy of ancient Rome. To inspire his subjects with a taste for magnificence, and to impress them with an awful respect for his power, he made his public entry into Moscow, under seven triumphal arches, adorned with every thing that the climate could produce or a thriving commerce furnish. First marched the guards, followed by the artillery taken from the Swedes, the colours and standards won from the same enemy, carried by those who had captured them; the litter, in which Charles XII. was carried at the battle of Pultowa, all shattered with cannon-shot, appeared in a chariot made on purpose to display it. Behind the litter marched all the Swedish prisoners, two and two; among whom were Count Piper, the prime minister, the famous Marshal Renchild, the Count de Lenenhaupt, and several officers and generals, who were afterwards dispersed through Great Russia. Last in procession came the triumphant conqueror, mounted on the same horse he rode at the battle of Pultowa, and followed by his generals who had shared in the victory.

This magnificent spectacle furnished Charles with new arguments for awakening the jealousy of the Porte; and Achmet gave orders to the grand vizier to attack the dominions of the czar with 200,000 men. The first step of the Ottoman court was to arrest the Russian ambassador, and commit him to the castle of the seven towers. The czar, as soon as informed of this insult, ordered his army in Poland to march towards Moldavia, and made every preparation for war. He mustered his forces on the frontiers of Poland, and planned his route through Moldavia and Wallachia, the country of the ancient Dacii, but now inhabited by Greek Christians, who are tributary to the grand signior. Having concluded a secret treaty with their prince, Cantemir, Peter passed the Niester, and reached at length the northern banks of the Pruth, near Jassi, the capital of Moldavia. Meanwhile, the grand vizier advanced on the other side of the Pruth, at the head of 250,000 men. The Russians were destitute of forage and provisions, and the grand vizier was determined to reduce the czar and his exhausted army by famine. In this extremity, the Czarina Catherine* obtained of Peter leave to negotiate with the grand vizier; she sent to him the vice-chancellor, and a negotiation took place. The vizier at first demanded that Peter and his whole army should surrender prisoners of war; the chancellor replied, that the Russians would all perish to a man, sooner

* Catherine was a Livonian captive whom he had raised to the throne.

than submit to such conditions; that his master's resolution was already taken, to open a passage with the point of the bayonet. The vizier was sensible of the danger of driving to despair a body of 35,000 brave and disciplined troops, headed by a gallant prince; and an agreement ensued, that the czar should restore the city of Asoph; destroy the harbour of Tangaroh, and demolish the forts built on the Palus Mæotis, or sea of Zeback; withdraw his troops from Poland; give no further disturbance to the Cossacks, and permit the Swedish monarch to return to his own kingdom. On these conditions Peter was allowed to retire with his army, and was supplied with provisions.

Charles arrived at the tent of the grand vizier, just as Peter was marching off, happy in the thought of having his enemy in his power; enraged to find a treaty concluded, he burst into the keenest reproaches. "I have a right," said the vizier, "to make either peace or war. Our laws command us to grant peace to our enemies, when they implore our clemency." "Did not fortune," replied Charles, "afford you an opportunity of leading the czar in chains to Constantinople?" "And who," said the vizier, "would have governed his empire during his absence? It is not proper that all crowned heads should leave their dominions." Charles, swelling with indignation, threw himself on a sofa, and, stretching out his leg, entangled his spur in the vizier's robe, and purposely tore it. Baltagi took no notice of this splenetic insult, and the King of Sweden, further mortified by that neglect, sprung up, mounted his horse, and returned with a sorrowful heart to Bender. All his attempts to kindle anew a war between Russia and Turkey proved ineffectual; and the divan, weary of his importunities, resolved to send him home, attended by a sufficient guard. The sultan presented him with 1200 purses of money to pay his debts, and the Bashaw of Bender informed him of the orders of the court; but Charles, in spite of the earnest entreaties of his friends and servants, resolved to defend himself against an army of Turks and Tartars. After fighting like a desperado, he was seized and carried to the bashaw's quarters. The bashaw gave him his own apartment, and ordered him to be served as a king, though a prisoner. Next day he was conducted towards Adrianople. On his way he was informed by Baron Fabricius, ambassador from the Duke of Holstein, that Stanislaus, having come to share his fortunes, had been taken into custody, and was going to Bender under a guard of soldiers. "Run to him, my dear Fabricius," cried Charles; "desire him

never to make peace with Augustus, and assure him that our affairs will soon take a more flattering turn." This idea continued to occupy him during the whole time of his confinement. He was at first committed to the castle of Demirtash, in the neighbourhood of Adrianople, but afterwards allowed to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues distant from that city, near the famous river Hebrus, now called Merizza. There he renewed his intrigues; and, lest the Turks should not pay him the respect due to his royal person, he resolved to keep his bed during his captivity, under pretence of sickness.

1713.—While the naturally active and indefatigable Charles, who had set even the elements themselves at defiance, was wasting his time and health in bed, the northern princes, who had formerly trembled at his name, were dismembering his dominions. General Steenbock defended his master's possessions in Germany as long as possible. He defeated an army of Danes and Saxons with great slaughter, at a place called Gatesbush, in Mecklenburg; but, though victorious, he could not prevent the junction of the Russians, Danes, and Saxons, who obliged him and his army to seek an asylum in Tonningen, a fortress in the duchy of Holstein. In the mean time, the czar was pushing his conquests in Finland. Having made a descent at Elsingford, the most southern part of that cold and barren region, he took possession of the town. He afterwards made himself master of Abo, Borgo, and the whole coast; defeated the Swedes near Tavestius, a post which commanded the Gulf of Bothnia; penetrated as far as Vasa, and reduced every fortress in the country. In 1714, he gained a complete victory by sea, and made himself master of the isle of Oeland. These successes furnished him with a new occasion of triumph: he entered Petersburgh, as he formerly had Moscow, in procession, under a magnificent arch, decorated with the insignia of his conquests. Meanwhile, the regency of Stockholm, driven to despair by the desperate situation of their affairs, and the absence of their sovereign, came to a resolution no longer to consult him in regard to their proceedings; and the senate entreated Ulrica Eleanora, the king's sister, to take the government into her own hands, till the return of her brother. She agreed to the proposal; but, finding their purpose was to force her to make peace with Russia and Denmark, she resigned the regency, and wrote a full account of the matter to the king. Roused from his affected sickness, by what he considered a treasonable attempt upon his authority, Charles

signified his desire to the grand vizier of returning through Germany to his own dominions. The Turkish minister neglected nothing which might facilitate that event; and, all things being prepared for his departure, he set out with a convoy of sixty loaded wagons and three hundred horse. The emperor gave orders that he should be received in every part of the imperial dominions with the respect due to his rank; but Charles had no inclination to bear the fatigue of pomp and ceremony. He therefore took leave of his Turkish convoy, as soon as he arrived at Targowitz, on the confines of Transylvania; and, assembling his attendants, desired them to give themselves no further concern about him, but to proceed with all expedition to Stralsund, in Pomerania. The king himself, in disguise, attended only by two officers, arrived at that place in November, 1714, and employed the winter in recruiting his armies. In order to strengthen his interest, he gave his only surviving sister, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to Frederic, Prince of Hesse Cassel, who was esteemed a good general.

1715.—Charles, on the opening of the campaign, found himself environed with so many enemies, that valour and conduct alone were of very little service. The German troops of the Elector of Hanover, now King of Great Britain, invested the strong town of Wismar; while the combined army of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons, marched towards Stralsund to besiege it. The czar was in the Baltic with a numerous fleet and army, and Sweden was in daily expectation of an invasion. Stralsund, the strongest place in Pomerania, is situated between the Baltic sea and the Lake of Franken, near the Straits of Gella. To deprive the King of Sweden and his little army of all succours, the allies chased the Swedish fleet from the coast, and took possession of the isle of Usedom, and then attacked Rugen, which serves as a bulwark to Stralsund. Charles hastened to its relief with 4000 chosen men; but the Prince of Anhalt, who had effected a landing with 20,000, had ordered a deep fosse to be sunk as soon as he landed, and fortified it with chevaux-de-frize. The King of Sweden, who marched on foot, sword in hand, was not a little surprised, when, plucking up some of the chevaux-de-frize, he discovered a ditch. He was not, however, disconcerted; he leaped into the fosse, accompanied by the boldest of his men, and attempted to force the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the attack threw the Danes and Prussians into some confusion, but the contest was unequal; the Swedes were repulsed, and

obliged to repass the fosse. The Prince of Anhalt pursued them; the battle was renewed; the greatest part of the Swedes were cut to pieces: Charles saw his secretary and two generals fall dead at his feet, and, being himself wounded, he was put on horseback by Poniatowsky, who had saved his life at Pultowa, and shared his misfortunes in Turkey; he was now constrained to make the best of his way to the sea-coast, and abandon Rugen to its fate. Stralsund was now reduced to the last extremity. The bombs fell as thick as hail upon the houses, and half the town was reduced to ashes. Charles, however, still preserved his firmness. It happened, as he was dictating a letter, that a bomb burst in the neighbourhood of his apartment; his secretary dropped his pen. "What is the matter?" said the king. "The bomb," sighed the intimidated scribe. "Write on," cried Charles, "what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating?" The grand assault was now every minute expected, when his friends forced him on board a small vessel, which landed him in Sweden, and Stralsund surrendered next day. The king, not choosing to visit his capital in his present unfortunate circumstances, passed the winter at Carlscroon, from whence he had set out fifteen years before.

In 1716, when all Europe expected Sweden to be invaded, and even overrun by her numberless enemies, Charles passed over into Norway, and made himself master of Christiania. Meanwhile, Wismar, the only town that remained to him on the frontiers of Germany, had surrendered to the Danes and Prussians; who, jealous of the Russians, would not allow them to be present at the siege. This jealousy alienated the czar's mind from the confederates; and Goertz, taking advantage of it, obtained leave from Charles to negotiate for peace. Peter proceeded cautiously; but conferences were at last appointed to be held in the isle of Oeland. In October, 1718, Charles, having undertaken a second expedition into Norway, sat down before Fredericshall in December, when the ground was as hard as iron, and the cold so intense that the soldiers on duty frequently dropped down dead. To animate them, he exposed himself to all the rigour of the climate, as well as to the danger of the siege, sleeping even in the open air, covered only with a cloak. One night, as he was viewing them carrying on their approaches by starlight, he was killed by a cannon-ball. Though he expired without a groan, the moment he received the blow, he instinctively grasped the hilt of his sword, and was found in that position so truly charac-

teristic of his mind. The death of Charles was considered as a signal for a general cessation of arms. The Prince of Hesse, who commanded under the king, immediately raised the siege of Fredericshall, and led the Swedes back into their own country; nor did the Danes attempt to molest them on their march.

1719.—By a free and voluntary choice, the states of the kingdom elected Ulrica Eleonora, sister of Charles XII., for their queen, and she soon after relinquished the crown to her husband, the Prince of Hesse. The Swedes now turned their views to peace, which was procured by different treaties. That with the czar was not concluded till 1721. He was left in possession of Livonia, Estonia, and Ingria, with part of Carelia and part of Finland. Peter henceforth took the title of emperor, which was soon acknowledged by all the European powers. In 1722, Persia being distracted by civil wars, he marched to the assistance of Sha Thamas, and in return for his seasonable protection, the new sophi put him in possession of three provinces bordering on the Caspian Sea, which composed the greater part of the ancient kingdom of the Medes. His son, Alexis, having discovered an inclination to obstruct his favourite plans of civilization, was made to sign, in 1718, a solemn renunciation of the crown; and soon after condemned to die. The death of the czarowitz was soon followed by that of Peter's infant son. (1724.) As a prelude to the eventual succession of the czarina, Peter, after his return from his Persian expedition, assisted in person at her solemn coronation; and upon the death of the emperor, in 1725, she quietly succeeded to the throne.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF LEWIS XIV., IN 1715, TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES VI., 1740.

THE Turks had happily remained quiet, while the Christian princes were most deeply embroiled among themselves; but no sooner was the general peace of Utrecht concluded, than Achmet III. commenced hostilities against the Venetians, and made himself master of the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus. The Emperor Charles VI., as guarantee of the treaty of Carlowitz, by which this territory had been assigned to the republic of Venice, was bound in honour to declare war against

the Turks for infringing it: and the Pope, alarmed at the progress of the infidels, urged his imperial majesty to stand forth in defence of Christendom. (1716.) Charles accordingly assembled a powerful army, under the celebrated Prince Eugene, who passed the Danube, and defeated the Grand Vizier Ali, at Peterwaradin. (1717.) The year following, the same general undertook the siege of Belgrade. The Turks besieged him in his camp. His danger was imminent; but military skill and disciplined valour triumphed over numbers and savage ferocity. He sallied out of his entrenchments, fell upon the enemy, entirely routed them, with great slaughter, and Belgrade surrendered immediately after. The consequence of these two victories was the peace of Passarowitz, (1718,) by which the Porte ceded to the emperor Belgrade and all the Bannet of Temeswar; but the Venetians never recovered their possessions in Greece.

Meanwhile, Philip V. of Spain, having lost his first queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, had married, in 1714, Elizabeth Farnese, presumptive heiress to the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. The jealousy occasioned by this alliance, and the great projects of the Spanish minister, Cardinal Alberoni, induced the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France for Lewis XV., to enter into a league with England and Holland, in 1716; and in 1718, these three powers, in conjunction with the emperor, formed the famous *Quadruple Alliance*. After the articles which provided for the maintaining of the peace of Utrecht, the principal stipulations of this treaty were, that the Duke of Savoy, in consideration of certain places in Italy, should exchange with the emperor the island of Sicily for that of Sardinia, of which he should take the regal title, and that the emperor should confer on Don Carlos, eldest son of the young Queen of Spain, the investiture of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany, on the death of the present possessors without issue. The Spanish court rejected these proposals with scorn; they had already taken possession of Sardinia, and great part of Sicily, and the consequence of these hostilities, was a declaration of war against Spain, by France and England. George I. sent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under Sir George Byng, who engaged the Spanish fleet near the coast of Sicily, and took or destroyed twenty-one ships out of twenty-seven. He next recovered the town and citadel of Messina, and the Spaniards made overtures for evacuating the island.

1719.—The recovery of Sicily was followed by the sur

render of Sardinia. In the mean time, the Duke of Berwick conducted a French army towards the frontiers of Spain, and made himself master of St. Sebastian and Fontarabia; and having prepared to open the next campaign by the siege of Roses and Pampeluna, Philip V. acceded to the terms prescribed by the Quadruple Alliance, and Alberoni was disgraced.

During these political transactions, great changes were effected in the commercial world, the finances of nations, and fortunes of thousands of individuals, by a Scottish adventurer, named John Law. He undertook to repair the finances of France, which were then in a deplorable condition. Law's scheme was, by speedily paying off the national debt,* to clear the public revenue of the enormous interest that absorbed it: the introduction of paper credit could alone effect this revolution, and the exigencies of the state seemed to require such an expedient. But the delusion soon vanished: even Law himself, deceived by his own calculations, and intoxicated with the public folly, had fabricated so many notes, that, in 1719, the chimerical value of the funds exceeded four-score times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom, which was nearly all in the hands of government. Public credit sunk at once. Upwards of 500,000 heads of families presented their whole fortune in paper, and government was under the necessity of contributing to their relief. The effects of this famous scheme were not confined to France; the contagion of stock-jobbing infected other nations. Holland received a slight shock, but its violence was peculiarly reserved for England, where it exhausted its fury.

In 1723 died Philip, Duke of Orleans, Regent of France;

* The *National Debt* is the residue of those immense sums, which government has, in times of exigency, been obliged to raise by way of voluntary loan for the public service, beyond what the annual revenue of the crown could supply, and which the state has not yet paid off. The *Public Funds* consist of certain masses of the money thus deposited in the hands of government, together with the general produce of the taxes appropriated by Parliament to pay the interest of that money; and the surplus of the taxes, which have always been more than sufficient to answer the charge upon them, composes what was called the *Sinking Fund*, because it was originally intended to be applied towards the reduction, or sinking of the national debt. The *Stocks* are the whole of this public and funded debt, which being divided into many shares, bearing a known interest, but different in the different funds, may be easily transferred from one person to another, and which rise or fall in value, according to the plenty or scarcity of money in the nation, or the opinion the proprietors have of the security of public credit.

under the auspices of this prince, Jansenism acquired new strength, vice and irreligion increased to an alarming extent: yet the politic duke, though himself a monster of libertinism, feeling the necessity of religion to the state, would not suffer it to be publicly impugned. This audacity commenced after his death, when deism, under the delusive name of reason and enlightened philosophy, threw off all disguise, both in practice and profession, and attacked the whole substance of revealed religion. At the head of these free-thinkers was Voltaire, a vain, aspiring youth, who sought to raise to himself an everlasting monument on the ruins of Christianity. "I am tired," he used to say, "of hearing it repeated, that twelve men were able to establish Christianity. I will show the world that one man will be enough to effect its ruin." Proud was his boast and impotent his endeavour; deplorable, however, was the change that his writings wrought in the principles of his numerous readers.

The Duke of Orleans was succeeded in the administration (but not in the regency, the king being now of age) by the Duke of Bourbon. This minister was soon supplanted by Cardinal Fleury, who had been preceptor to Lewis XV., and, at the advanced age of seventy-three, took upon him the cares of government. About the same time, Sir Robert Walpole, whose disposition was no less pacific than Fleury's, became prime minister of Great Britain. A treaty, signed at Vienna this year, (1725,) between the emperor and the King of Spain,* excited the jealousy of George I., who was under apprehensions for his German dominions, as well as of some secret article in favour of the Stuart family. It also gave umbrage to the French and Dutch. In order to counteract the treaty of Vienna, another was concluded at Hanover, between the three offended powers, and the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden. (1726.) The King of England fitted out three squadrons, one of which he sent to the West Indies, to block up the Spanish galleons, in the harbour of Porto Bello. The Spaniards, in resentment of this insult, laid siege to Gibraltar, but without success; and a reconciliation was soon after effected, through the mediation of France. During these negotiations died George I., being suddenly seized with a paralytic disorder, on the road from Holland to Hanover; he was conveyed to Osnaburgh, where he expired, on the 11th

* Philip V. had abdicated the crown the preceding year, in favour of his son, Don Lewis; but this prince dying about six months after, Philip again resumed the sceptre.

of June, 1727, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign. By his consort, Sophia Dorothea, heiress of Zell, he left a son, George, who succeeded to the throne, and a daughter, married to Frederic William, King of Prussia. George I. has had the good fortune to have the merits of his reign attributed to himself, while its defects were thrown upon the corruption and false principles of his ministers. The accession of George II. made no alteration in the system of British policy.

1731.—In consequence of the treaty of Seville, confirmed by another at Vienna, Don Charles took quiet possession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, when the succession devolved upon him; by the treaty of Vienna, the emperor also agreed that the Ostend Company, which had given so much umbrage to France, England, and Holland, should be totally dissolved, on condition that the contracting powers in the treaty of Seville should guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, or domestic law, by which the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria was secured to the heirs female of the Emperor Charles VI., in case he should die without male issue. The proposal was acceded to, and the peace of Europe continued undisturbed till the death of Augustus II., King of Poland, in 1733. On this event, Stanislaus Leczinski, whom Charles XII. had invested with the sovereignty of Poland, in 1704, and whom Peter the Great had dethroned, now become father-in-law to Lewis XV., was a second time chosen king. But the emperor, assisted by the Russians, obliged the Poles to proceed to a new election: the Elector of Saxony, son of the late King of Poland, who had married the emperor's niece, was raised to the throne, under the name of Augustus III., and Stanislaus, as formerly, was forced to abandon his crown. Lewis XV. thought himself injured in the person of that prince, and determined to be revenged on the emperor: he entered into an alliance with the Kings of Spain and Sardinia, and war was begun in Italy and on the frontiers of Germany: the imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg warmly espoused the pretensions of Augustus. Philipsburg was invested by the French, under the Duke of Berwick; and though this experienced commander was killed by a cannon-ball, in visiting the trenches, the place was taken by the Marquis d'Asfeld, who succeeded Berwick, in spite of the efforts of Prince Eugene to prevent its surrender.

The French were not less successful in Italy, while the Spaniards, in two campaigns, became masters of Naples and

Sicily. Discouraged by so many losses, the emperor signified a desire of peace, which was finally adjusted, in 1735. By this treaty it was stipulated, that Stanislaus should renounce his pretensions to Poland, in consideration of the cession of the duchy of Lorraine, which he should enjoy during his life, and which, after his death, should be reunited to the crown of France; that the Duke of Lorraine should have Tuscany, in exchange for his hereditary dominions; and that Lewis XV. should insure to him an annual revenue of 3,500,000 livres till the death of the grand duke;* that the emperor should acknowledge Don Carlos king of the two Sicilies, and accept the duchies of Parma and Placentia as an indemnification for those kingdoms; that he should cede to the King of Sardinia the Novarese, Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes; in consideration of these cessions, the King of France agreed to restore all his conquests in Germany, and to guarantee the Pragmatical Sanction. Scarcely was this peace negotiated, when a new war broke out on the confines of Europe and Asia, in which the emperor found himself involved. Provoked at the ravages of the Crim Tartars, as well as at the neglect of the Ottoman Porte to her repeated remonstrances, Anne, Empress of Russia, resolved to do herself justice. She accordingly ordered Laschi, one of her generals, to attack Asoph, which he reduced; while the Count de Munich, entering the Crimea with another army, forced the lines of Precop, made himself master of the place itself, took Banie-sary, and laid all Tartary waste with fire and sword. Next campaign, Munich entered the Ukraine and invested Ocza-kow, which was carried by assault, though defended by a garrison of 3000 Janizaries, and 7000 Bosniacs. The powder-magazine having taken fire, the Russian general took that opportunity to storm the town, and the Turks soon surrendered.

The emperor, who was bound by treaty to assist the court of Petersburg against the Porte, resolved to attack the Turks on the side of Hungary, while the Russians continued to press them on the borders of the Black Sea; but the imperial generals were repeatedly defeated, several important places were lost, and, in 1739, Belgrade was besieged. Discouraged by his misfortunes, Charles VI. had recourse to the mediation of France; and the Empress of Russia, though recently victorious at Choczim, afraid of being deserted by

* John Gaston, the last prince of the house of Medicis, who died in 1737

her ally, had also recourse to negotiation. The Turks obtained an advantageous peace. By that treaty, the emperor ceded to the grand seignior Belgrade, Sabatz, the isle and fortress of Orsova, with Servia and Austrian Walachia; and the contracting powers agreed that the Danube and the Save should in future be the boundaries of the two empires.

The Empress of Russia was left in possession of Asoph, on condition that its fortifications should be demolished; and the ancient limits between the Russian and Turkish empires were re-established.

Soon after this peace was signed, died, in 1740, the Emperor Charles VI., the last prince of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria; the disputed succession to whose hereditary dominions, kindled anew the flames of war in Europe. The same year, the English took Porto Bello from the Spaniards, and Commodore Anson began the circumnavigation of the globe.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A GENERAL VIEW OF EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES VI., IN 1740, TO THE TREATY OF DRESDEN, IN 1745.

1740.—THE death of the Emperor Charles VI., without male issue, awakened the ambition of many potentates, the adjusting of whose pretensions threw all Europe into a ferment. By virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, as well as the rights of blood, the succession to the whole Austrian dominions belonged to the Arch-duchess Maria Teresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuscany. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the provinces of Silesia, Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola; the four forest towns, Burgaw, Brisgaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tyrol, the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, formed that immense inheritance.

Almost all the European powers had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction; but, as Prince Eugene remarked very judiciously, "a hundred thousand men would have guarantied it better than a hundred thousand treaties." Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the Emperor Ferdinand I., brother to Charles V.: Augustus III., King of Poland

and Elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in virtue of the rights of his wife, daughter of the Emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. The Catholic king deduced similar pretensions from the rights of the daughter of Maximilian II., wife to Philip II., from whom he was descended by females; and the King of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan. The King of France had also his pretensions, as being descended in a right line from the eldest branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses married to his ancestors, Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV. In the mean time, Maria Teresa took quiet possession of that vast inheritance, which was secured to her by the Pragmatic Sanction. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna; and the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies, as did the Italian possessions. By a popular affability, which her predecessors had seldom displayed, she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. But, above all, she ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, in voluntarily accepting the ancient oath of their sovereigns, by which the subjects, should their privileges be invaded, are allowed to defend themselves without being treated as rebels.

The first alarm given by Maria Teresa's enemies was by a formidable but unexpected pretender. Frederic II., King of Prussia, had lately succeeded his father, Frederic William. This enterprising monarch revived certain antiquated claims of his family to four duchies in Silesia, and began his march at the head of 30,000 choice troops to establish his right. When he found himself in the heart of that rich province, and in possession of Breslaw, its capital, he showed a disposition to negotiate. He offered to supply the Queen of Hungary (as Maria Teresa was then generally called) with money and troops; to protect to the utmost of his power the rest of her dominions in Germany, and to use all his interest to place her husband on the imperial throne, provided she would cede to him the Lower Silesia. But the queen was sensible that by yielding to the claims of one pretender, she should only encourage those of others; she therefore rejected the offers of the King of Prussia, and sent Count Newperg, with a strong body of troops, into Silesia, to expel the invaders. The two armies met at Molwitz, a village in the neighbourhood of Neiss, and within a league of the river of the same name. There a desperate battle was fought. The Austrians lost 4,000 men, and were obliged to retreat. This victory of the Prussians was

followed, though not immediately, by the reduction of Glatz and Neiss, and the submission of the whole province of Silesia. The success of the King of Prussia astonished all Europe, and the refusal of Maria Teresa to comply with his demands, which had so lately been dignified with the name of greatness of soul, was now branded with the appellation of imprudent obstinacy and hereditary haughtiness. The Queen of Hungary might perhaps have found an ally in Russia, if Sweden had not prevented it by declaring war against that empire in 1741. The campaign of the following year proving disastrous to the Swedes, peace was concluded between these two powers, at Abo, in 1743. The crown of Sweden, on the death of Ulrica Eleanora, (in 1741,) had devolved on her husband, Frederic, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; when peace with Russia was treated of, the states of Sweden chose Prince Adolphus Frederick, of Holstein Gottorp, Bishop of Lubeck, hereditary prince; and on the death of his predecessor, in 1751, he succeeded to the throne of Sweden. A revolution also took place in Russia in 1741. The Empress Anne, dying in 1740, named for her successor John or Iwan, the son of her niece Anne, married to the Duke of Brunswick Bevern. The following year the Princess Anne was appointed regent for her infant son, and her husband named generalissimo of the Russian forces; but discontents arising on account of the share which foreigners had in the government, the Princess Elizabeth, only surviving child of Peter the Great, was, conformably to the will of her father, called to the throne in 1741, and the regent, with her son and husband, was imprisoned. France had guarantied the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VI., and Cardinal Fleury, whose love of peace increased with his declining years, was desirous of fulfilling his master's engagement; but no sooner was it known at Versailles that the King of Prussia had invaded Silesia, than the French nation became desirous of breaking the power of the house of Austria, and of exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins, by dismembering the dominions of Maria Teresa, and placing on the imperial throne Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, a stipendiary of his most Christian Majesty. A treaty was therefore concluded between France and Spain with Bavaria, against Maria Teresa; the Kings of Poland, Prussia, Sardinia, and Naples, afterwards acceded to this alliance, and Lewis appointed the Elector of Bavaria his lieutenant-general, with the Mareschals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him. In 1741, the combined forces of France and Prussia overrun Upper Austria, took possession

of Lintz, and approached Vienna, which was thrown into great consternation. In this extremity of her fortune, Maria Teresa, committing her desperate affairs to the care of her husband and her brave generals, left Vienna and retired to Presburg in Hungary ; where having assembled the states of that kingdom, she appeared before them with her eldest son, yet an infant, in her arms, and addressed them in a speech to the following purport. “ Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, and attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource left, but in your fidelity and valour. On you alone I depend for relief ; and into your hands I commit, with confidence, the son of your sovereign, and my just cause.” At once filled with rage and compassion at these affecting expressions of confidence, by so flattering an appeal to their loyalty, and by the appearance of a young, heroic princess in distress, the Palatines drew their sabres, and exclaimed, in a tone of enthusiasm, “ We will die for our king,* Maria Teresa.” The Hungarian nobility were instantly in arms, and old Count Palfy, whom the queen honoured with the name of father, marched to the relief of Vienna, with 30,000 men. Kevenhuller had a garrison of 12,000, Count Newperg was in Bohemia at the head of 20,000 : the grand duke and his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was the delight of the Austrian armies, commanded another large body ; and the other generals were exerting themselves to the utmost in raising troops for their sovereign. These circumstances, added to the declining season, induced the Elector of Bavaria to alter his plans ; instead of investing Vienna, he marched into Bohemia, and, being joined by 20,000 Saxons, laid siege to Prague. The place was stormed and taken by the gallantry of the famous Count Saxe, natural son of Augustus II., of Poland, who had already entered the French service : and the Elector of Bavaria, having been crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, proceeded to Frankfort, where he was elected emperor, under the name of Charles VII., and invested with the imperial ensigns in January, 1742.

The intimate connexion between England and the house of Austria, since the revolution in 1688, cemented by the blood spilled during two long and desolating wars against Lewis XIV., made the people consider this connexion as essential to the liberties of Europe, against the power of the house of Bourbon. The English nation therefore warmly espoused

* The Hungarians call their sovereign, king, of whatever sex.

the cause of the Queen of Hungary: the cry for war was loud, and for fulfilling to the utmost, the treaty with the late emperor. George II., who seemed only to value the British crown as it augmented his consequence in Germany, was sufficiently disposed to enter into these views: 1600 British troops were transported into the Low Countries, to make a diversion in favour of Maria Teresa; they were joined by 6,000 Hessians and 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay.

The good fortune of the Elector of Bavaria terminated with his elevation to the imperial throne. The very day that he was elected emperor, he received an account of the loss of Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, though defended by a garrison of 10,000 French troops. Kevenhuller, the Austrian general, who had performed this important service, having dislodged the French from all the strongholds of that country, entered the emperor's hereditary dominions, defeated Marshal Thoring at Memberg, and took Munich, capital of Bavaria. In the mean time Prince Lobkowitz, with 11,000 foot and 5,000 horse, was appointed to observe the motions of the French in Bohemia, while Prince Charles of Lorraine, at the head of 48,000 men, advanced against the Prussians and Saxons who had invaded Moravia. They retired with precipitation on his approach, and abandoned Olmutz, which they had taken. This retreat was considered as an event of much importance by the Austrians; but the active and enterprising King of Prussia, having received a reinforcement of 30,000 men, under the Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, marched to the assistance of his allies in Bohemia, and gave battle to Prince Charles, at Czaslaw. The disciplined troops on both sides were nearly equal, but the Austrians had besides a large body of undisciplined irregulars, Croats, Pandors, &c., who engaged with incredible fury.* The Prussians were broken; the king left the field, and a total defeat must have ensued, had not the thirst of plunder seized the Austrian irregulars, at the sight of the Prussian baggage. Their example infected the regulars, who gave over the pursuit. The Prussian infantry seized the opportunity to rally; they returned to the charge, and after an obstinate affray, broke the main body of the Austrian army, and obliged Prince Charles to retire, with the loss of 5,000 men. The King of Prussia, whose loss was little inferior to that of the Austrians, sick of such bloody victories, and suspecting the sincerity of the court of France, began to turn his

* The Croats are the militia of Croatia; the Pandors are Slavonians.

thoughts towards peace, and concluded at Breslaw, without consulting his allies, an advantageous treaty with the Queen of Hungary. By this treaty, Maria Teresa ceded to Frederic II. Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz; and he engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from her dominions, within sixteen days after the signing of the treaty. A peace was also concluded, nearly at the same time, between the Queen of Hungary and Augustus III., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, by which she yielded to him certain places in Bohemia, and he guarantied to her the possession of the rest of that kingdom. The intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw came like a clap of thunder upon the court of France. The Mareschals Belleisle and Broglio no sooner found themselves deserted by the Prussians, than they abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they entrenched themselves in a kind of peninsular meadow, formed by the windings of the river Muldaw, while the Prince of Lorraine, having joined Lobkowitz, encamped in sight of them on the hills of Grisnitz.

Maillebois, who commanded on the Rhine, marched to the relief of Prague, at the head of 72,000 men; but he was necessitated to return to the Palatinate; all prospect of relief for the besieged was now cut off: still the intrepid spirit of Belleisle supported him, and seemed to communicate itself to the whole army. Finding no terms would be accepted, but that he and all his garrison should surrender themselves prisoners, he formed the design of a retreat; and by making in one quarter of the town a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another with 14,000 men, and got a day's march of Prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague rendered this the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in the city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles; the ground was covered with snow; all the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and Prince Lobkowitz, with 20,000 men, hung on his rear. Under all these disadvantages, however, he reached the defiles, with his army unbroken. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he arrived at Egra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace, without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy, but of a thousand in consequence of the rigour of the season.

The war raged during this campaign with no less violence in Italy, than in Germany. On the death of the emperor

Charles VI., the King of Spain put in a claim to the whole Austrian succession, and the King of Sardinia revived one to the duchy of Milan. Both afterwards thought proper to moderate their pretensions. The Spanish monarch seemed disposed to be satisfied with the Austrian dominions in Italy, which he intended to erect into a kingdom for Don Philip, his youngest son by the Princess of Parma: and his Sardinian majesty, alarmed at the encroachments of the house of Bourbon, entered into an alliance with the Queen of Hungary and the King of Great Britain, in consideration of an annual subsidy, and the cession of certain places contiguous to his dominions.

All the other Italian states affected to remain neutral during the war. An English fleet had cruised in the Mediterranean ever since the declaration of war with Spain, without performing any thing of consequence. Admiral Matthews, being appointed chief commander, was vested with full powers to treat with the Italian states, as his Britannic Majesty's minister. In this double capacity, he watched the motions of the Spaniards both by sea and land; and understanding that the King of the two Sicilies had, notwithstanding his pretended neutrality, sent a body of troops to join the Spanish army, he sent an English squadron into the bay of Naples, with orders to bombard that city, unless the king consented to withdraw his troops, and sign a promise that they should not act in conjunction with Spain during the continuance of the war. These conditions were immediately acceded to. Meanwhile, Don Philip, third son of his Catholic majesty, for whose aggrandizement the war had been undertaken, invaded Savoy with another Spanish army, which he had led through France, and soon made himself master of that duchy. Alarmed at this irruption, the King of Sardinia returned with his troops to the defence of Piedmont, which the Spaniards attempted in vain to enter. The Queen of Hungary, now victorious, was in possession of the territories of Charles VII., so that the French, tired of supporting that prince, in whose cause they had lost above 100,000 men, made at last proposals of peace, which were, however, rejected.

The Queen of Hungary's good fortune continued to attend her. Prince Charles of Lorraine having assumed the command of the Austrian army in Bavaria, defeated the Imperialists with great slaughter, near Branaw, and took possession of their camp; while Prince Lobkowitz, marching from Bohemia, drove the French from all their posts in the Upper Palatinate; and the emperor, finding himself abandoned by his

allies, and stripped of his hereditary dominions, took refuge in Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity.

The operations on the side of Flanders, during the campaign of 1743, were important, though not decisive. The British and Hanoverian troops, commanded by the Earl of Stair; and the Austrians under the Duke d'Arenberg, began their march from the Low Countries towards Germany; the King of France sent an army under the Duke of Noailles, to prevent these allies from joining Prince Charles; while he despatched another army into Alsace, to oppose that prince, should he attempt to pass the Rhine. Having secured Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, Noailles passed the Rhine, and posted himself above Frankfort; the Earl of Stair advanced to Aschaffenburg, with a view of securing the navigation of the Upper Maine, but Noailles had prevented him and cut off all supplies. The King of Great Britain, attended by his second son, the Duke of Cumberland, arrived in June, at the camp of the allies, and found his army, amounting to 40,000 men, eager for battle, but in great want of supplies. The French general, in fact, had taken his measures so wisely, that it was thought the allies must be forced to surrender prisoners of war, or to be cut to pieces if they attempted to withdraw. A retreat, however, was resolved upon. Their dangerous route lay between a mountain and the river Maine; they were annoyed in their march by the enemy's cannon, and the French general, leading 60,000 of his men over the bridges he had erected across the river, took possession of the village of Dettingen, in front of the allies; while another detachment occupied Aschaffenburg, which they had abandoned. Having made these dispositions, Noailles repassed the Maine, the better to observe the motions of the enemy. Meanwhile, the Duke de Grammont, (his nephew and lieutenant-general,) who was stationed at Dettingen, with 80,000 choice troops, eager to engage, passed the defiles behind which they were posted, and advanced into a plain, called the Cock Field, where the allies had formed themselves in order of battle. Noailles beheld this movement with grief and astonishment; but could not arrive in time to prevent it. The French charged with great impetuosity, and put the Austrian cavalry into disorder: the British and Hanoverian infantry, animated by the presence of their sovereign, who rode between the lines with his sword drawn, stood firm as a rock, and poured forth an incessant fire, which nothing could resist. By a masterly manœuvre, on the approach of the French cavalry, who rushed on despe-

rately, these impenetrable battalions opened their lines, and afterwards closing again, made great havoc in that gallant body. Terror now seized the whole French army, every one crying "Sauve qui peut," so that the Duke de Noailles found himself under the necessity of precipitately retreating over the Maine, with the loss of 5,000 men. The allied army, though reinforced with 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries, did nothing of any consequence after the victory of Dettingen; and the Earl of Stair was so dissatisfied with this inaction, that he resigned in disgust.

The season was so far on the decline before the Spanish army, under Don Philip, entered upon action, that the campaign, on the side of Piedmont, was distinguished by no important event. The inaction of this prince was occasioned by secret negotiations, and ended in the famous treaty of Worms, by which his Sardinian majesty renounced his pretensions to the duchy of Milan, and guarantied anew the Pragmatic Sanction: the Queen of Hungary relinquishing, in his favour, all title to the town and marquisate of Final, and some other places. This private treaty dissipated all hopes of a general peace; the Queen of Hungary not only rejected any terms of accommodation with the emperor, but avowed her purpose of keeping possession of Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, as an indemnification for the loss of Silesia; this produced a change in the sentiments of the principal German powers. Their jealousy of the ambition of the house of Austria was revived, and their pride was wounded by the degradation of the imperial dignity, in the person of Charles VII., now no better than an illustrious beggar, depending on the bounty of France for a precarious subsistence. They resolved to interpose in his favour. A secret negotiation began between France, the emperor, the Elector Palatine, the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the King of Prussia, as Elector of Brandenburg, who feared the growing power of Maria Teresa might strip him of his late conquests. Great preparations were made for carrying on the war with vigour; 20,000 French troops, under the Prince of Conti, were ordered to join Don Philip in Savoy; and the French and Spanish squadron at Toulon were commanded to act in concert, and attempt to recover the sovereignty of the Mediterranean. If successful, to join the Brest fleet, and having established a superiority in the channel, to assist in the projected invasion of England.

That enterprise, which had for its more remote object the

re-establishment of the house of Stuart, was planned with a view of obliging George II. to recall his troops from the Continent in defence of his own dominions. A correspondence was entered into with the Jacobites in Scotland and England, where the public discontent was very great; the people being enraged at the mysterious inaction of the last campaign, which they ascribed to the influence of German counsels, and to the political situation of George II. as Elector of Hanover. Cardinal de Tencin, who on the death of Cardinal Fleury had taken the lead in the French administration, was warmly attached to the Stuart family, and the chief promoter of this enterprise: 15,000 men were assembled in Picardy under Count Saxe; a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, and Charles Edward, eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George, whom his father, in a proclamation dated from his court at Rome, had nominated regent of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, arrived in the French camp to join the expedition.*

The transports put to sea; but, a sudden storm arising, they were driven back with great damage and loss of men; so that the young prince, after being within sight of the English coast, found himself necessitated to wait for another opportunity to attempt the recovery of the kingdom of his ancestors. Mutual declarations of war were now issued by the Kings of France and England. Lewis XV. accused George II. of having violated the neutrality of Hanover; of dissuading the Queen of Hungary from coming to an accommodation with the emperor; of blocking up the ports and disturbing the

* The son and only surviving child of James II., was known on the Continent by the name of the Chevalier de St. George; in England, by that of the Pretender. Shortly after his abortive attempt at invasion, in 1715, he withdrew from France into Italy. His friends having advised him to marry, a suitable consort was found in the Princess Clementina Sobieski, granddaughter of the famous John Sobieski of Poland. It was agreed that she should set out for Italy with all possible expedition; but the plan being made known to the English ministers, they found means to gain over the Emperor of Germany, by whose orders the princess was stopped at Inspruck. After a detention of two months, she effected her escape from prison, and, accompanied by her mother, reached Bologna in safety. The marriage was there celebrated by proxy, and the princess continued her journey to Rome, where she was joined by her consort, May, 1719. In the following year she gave birth to a son, who was named Charles Edward, and, in 1725, to a second, called Henry Benedict. Dissensions unhappily arising between Prince James and his consort, the latter withdrew into a convent in Rome, where she usually resided till her death. Prince James survived her some years, and died in 1766.

commerce of France. His Britannic majesty recriminated, by accusing the French king of violating the Pragmatic Sanction; of attempting to destroy the balance of power in Europe, by dismembering the Austrian succession; of assisting the Spaniards, in contempt of the faith of treaties; of harbouring the Pretender, and furnishing him with a fleet and army to invade Great Britain.

The campaign in Italy began on the side of Piedmont. Don Philip, being joined by the Prince of Conti, passed the Var, which descends from the Alps and falls into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole county of Nice submitted. The French and Spanish army then defiled off towards Piedmont, and invested the strong town of Coni; the King of Sardinia, being reinforced by 10,000 Austrians under Palavicini, advanced to its relief, and attacked the French and Spaniards in their entrenchments, but was obliged to retire with considerable loss; he, however, found means to reinforce the garrison of Coni, and to convey into the town a supply of provisions; this obliged Don Philip and the Prince of Conti to raise a siege which had almost ruined their army; repassing the mountains, they took up their winter quarters in Dauphiné; but the Spaniards still continued in possession of Savoy, which they fleeced without mercy. Meanwhile a treaty was concluded at Frankfort, through the influence of France, between the Emperor Charles VII., the King of Prussia, the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Elector Palatine. The declared object of this treaty was to restore the imperial dignity and the tranquillity of Germany; the contracting powers engaging either to persuade or oblige the Queen of Hungary to acknowledge the title of Charles VII., to give up the archives of the empire still in her possession, and evacuate Bavaria; the emperor's claims on the Austrian succession to be settled by a friendly compromise or juridicial decision. So far the confederacy seemed reasonable; but by a separate article of a different nature, the King of Prussia engaged to put the emperor in possession of Bohemia, and to guarantee to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition he should give up to his Prussian Majesty the town and circle of Koningsgratz in its whole extent, with the country between the frontiers and the Elbe, and from Koningsgratz to the confines of Saxony. Lewis XV. put himself at the head of 120,000 men, in spring, and invested Menin. Count Saxe, now Marshal of France, commanded under him. Menin surrendered in seven days;

Ypres, Fort Knocke, and Furnes were reduced with equal facility, and Lewis entered Dunkirk in triumph; while the allied army, unable to obstruct his passage, continued posted behind the Scheldt. Meanwhile Prince Charles of Lorraine entered Alsace at the head of 60,000 Austrians, took Weisenburg, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. Leaving Marshal Saxe in Flanders, Lewis advanced to oppose Prince Charles, but at Metz was seized with a fever which threatened his life, and spread consternation throughout France.

His recovery was celebrated with such transports of joy, as naturally sprung from the awakened sensibility of a nation, then remarkable for its attachment to its sovereigns; and it was on this occasion that he received the flattering appellation of *Bien-aimé*. In the interim, Prince Charles, hearing that the King of Prussia had entered Bohemia, repassed the Rhine, and hastened to the relief of that kingdom: and Lewis on his recovery besieged and took Friburg. Before the arrival of Prince Charles, the Prussian monarch had made himself master of Prague, Tabor, and all Bohemia east of the Muldaw. But Augustus III., King of Poland, sent 16,000 men to join Prince Charles, who was also reinforced by a large body of Hungarians, zealous in the cause of their sovereign, Maria Teresa; so that the King of Prussia, unable to withstand such a force, was obliged to quit Bohemia and retire with precipitation into Silesia. He was pursued by Prince Charles, but the rigour of the season prevented the recovery of that valuable province. The Prussians, in their retreat, lost above 30,000 men, with all their heavy baggage, artillery, provisions, and plunder.

1745.—While the high-minded Frederick II. experienced this sudden reverse of fortune, the dejected fugitive, Charles VII. once more got possession of his capital, Seckendorff, the imperial general, having driven the Austrians out of Bavaria. But the rapid progress of the Prince of Lorraine filled him with new apprehensions, and he was in danger of being a third time chased from his dominions, when death freed him from a complication of bodily ills, aggravated by the anguish of a wounded spirit. His son Maximilian Joseph, being only seventeen years of age, could not become a candidate for the imperial throne. He therefore concluded a treaty of peace with the Queen of Hungary. By this treaty, Maria Teresa agreed to recognise the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of Charles VII.; to put his son in possession of all his electoral dominions, which she had again invaded; and the

young elector renounced all claim to any part of the Austrian succession; consented to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction; agreed to give his vote for the grand duke at the ensuing election of an emperor, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service. This treaty, it was confidently expected, would prove a prelude to a general pacification, but the French ministry persisted in their resolution of opposing the election of the grand duke, and of continuing the war in Germany and the Low Countries, to facilitate the operations of the house of Bourbon in Italy, where Elizabeth Farnese, who still directed all the measures of the court of Madrid, was determined to establish a sovereignty for her second son, Don Philip, at the expense of Maria Teresa.

Don Philip closed a brilliant campaign in Italy by a triumphant entry into Milan. Lewis XV. was equally successful in 1745, on the side of Flanders: he first invested Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands, and the most important in the Dutch barrier. The Hanoverian and the British troops, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, advanced to its relief, with the Austrians conducted by old Count Königseg, and the Dutch, by Prince Waldeck, as young and inexperienced as the Duke of Cumberland.

The French army, under Marshal Saxe, was posted on a rising ground in front of the village of Fontenoy. A desperate battle ensued: it began at break of day, and lasted till three in the afternoon. Though the fire from the French batteries was so heavy, that it swept off whole ranks at a single discharge, the British infantry continued to advance as if they had been invulnerable, and drove the French beyond their lines. Marshal Saxe, concluding all was lost, sent advice to the king to provide for his safety, by repassing the bridge of Colonne; but Lewis XV. refused to quit his post, and his firmness saved his army from disgrace and ruin. As a last resource the Irish brigade were ordered to charge, and finally compelled the English and Hanoverians to retire with the loss of 7,000 men, after having successively routed almost every regiment in the French army. The French lost near 10,000 men, yet their joy was extravagantly high at their dear-bought victory; and their exultation in the hour of triumph seemed to bear a proportion to the danger they had been in of a defeat. After this battle, the allies lay intrenched between Antwerp and Brussels, while Marshal Saxe and Count Lowendahl reduced by stratagem or force, Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermonde, Ghent, Ostend, New-

port, and every other fortified place in Austrian Flanders. Yet the Queen of Hungary obtained the great object of her wishes, in the elevation of her husband to the imperial throne; the electors assembled at Frankfort, and raised to the head of the empire the Grand Duke of Tuscany, under the name of Francis I.

Meanwhile the King of Prussia gained two victories over the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine; he then invaded Saxony, and made himself master of Dresden. The King of Poland now found himself under the necessity of suing for peace, and the King of Prussia was heartily tired of the war. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Dresden in 1745, between Augustus, as Elector of Saxony, and Frederic II., by which Augustus agreed to pay Frederic for the evacuation of his hereditary dominions one million of German crowns at the next fair of Leipsic.

Another treaty, confirming that of Breslaw, was at the same time concluded between the King of Prussia and the Queen of Hungary. This treaty secured to Frederic the possession of Silesia, on condition of acknowledging the new emperor's election. The Elector Palatine was included in this treaty on the same condition. These treaties restored tranquillity to Germany, but the war still continued for some years between the houses of Austria and Bourbon.

Such was the condition of affairs on the continent, when Charles Edward, the grandson of James II., arrived in Scotland to assert his right to the kingdom of his ancestors. With a few tried adherents and a small supply of money and arms, he had sailed from France, and having made the circuit of Ireland, landed at Lochaber on the western coast. He was immediately joined by several Highland chiefs with their clans, and on reviewing his troops found them amount to 3,000 men. Having crossed the Forth in the neighbourhood of Stirling, he entered Edinburgh without opposition, caused his father to be proclaimed king, as he had previously done at Perth, and fixed his head-quarters at Holyrood-house. Meanwhile, Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the army in Scotland, who, by marching northward towards Inverness, had left the whole of the Low Country open to the insurgents, advancing to oppose them, was met by Charles Edward and his adherents near the village of Preston Pans, and completely defeated. By this victory, the whole of Scotland, a few fortified castles excepted, was reduced to the obedience of the Stuarts; and Prince Charles, who now held the style and title

of regent, being joined by many of the Scottish nobility with their wives and daughters, indulged in the parade of royalty at Holyrood-house, the ancient palace of his ancestors. He was at this time twenty-five years of age; a considerable share of manly beauty, heightened by elegant manners and an affable deportment, rendered his general appearance strikingly attractive and prepossessing. After much useless delay, finding himself unable to reduce the castle of Edinburgh for want of artillery, he left that city, and, entering England, took the road of Carlisle, which surrendered at the end of three days; many other towns opened their gates without resistance. In Lancashire he was received with some demonstrations of joy, and joined by Colonel Townely, at the head of 200 men, but though he advanced within a hundred miles of London, no signs of any general movement in his favour appeared. The Highland chiefs were under no subordination, and unanimous only in discontent; and, in a council of war held at Derby, it was resolved, contrary to the wishes of Prince Charles, who was for attempting to gain possession of the capital, to return to Scotland. A masterly retreat was planned and executed with trifling loss. In passing Carlisle, the garrison was augmented by throwing in the Lancashire volunteers; it was, however, almost immediately besieged by the Duke of Cumberland, (who had been recalled from Flanders to head an army against the insurgents,) and compelled to surrender at discretion; the men, to the number of 400, were immediately imprisoned; their subsequent fate was exile or death. In Scotland, the friends of the young adventurer were still numerous and formidable; and a brilliant victory gained at Falkirk over the regulars under General Hawley, added vigour to their hopes. But the Highlanders became dispirited by fruitless efforts to take Stirling castle by storm, and their chiefs seemed willing to decide at one blow a struggle of which they had grown weary. In April, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland crossed the Spey without opposition, and coming up with the insurgents on the plains of Culloden, gained a victory so decisive as at once to quell the insurrection, and annihilate the hopes of Prince Charles and his adherents. The conquerors disgraced their triumph by the most atrocious cruelty, refusing quarter to the wounded, and carrying fire and sword into the huts of a simple people, whose only crime was too implicit an obedience to their chiefs. The men were hunted down upon the mountains, the women and children left to perish with cold and hunger.

The Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and a great number of officers and prisoners of distinction, suffered death. Many of the Highland chiefs escaped beyond sea, and Prince Charles himself, after a series of romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes, was received on board a French frigate, and safely landed in France. It is worthy of remark, that though a price of £30,000 was set upon his head, and more than fifty persons must have been at different times acquainted with the place of his retreat, not one was found base enough to purchase affluence by betraying him. The Duke of Cumberland returned triumphantly to London, and shortly after set out to resume the command of the army in Flanders.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE AFFAIRS OF EUROPE, FROM THE TREATY OF DRESDEN IN 1745, TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE IN 1748.

THE treaty of Dresden and the confirmation of that of Breslaw, by detaching the King of Prussia from the house of Bourbon, made a change in the state of the contending parties, but did not dispose them to peace. Of all the hostile powers, the King of France was the first in readiness to put his designs into execution. Marshal Saxe, to the astonishment of Europe and the terror of the confederates, took Brussels, the capital of Brabant, and the residence of the governor of the Austrian Netherlands. Lewis XV. joined his victorious army of 120,000 men in April, 1746, reduced Antwerp, and forced the allies to retire to Breda. Mons, reckoned one of the strongest towns in the world, held out only a few weeks, and, by the middle of July, Lewis saw himself absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

The enterprising Marshal Saxe, after the reduction of Namur, passed the Jaar at the head of the whole French army, attacked the allies, and forced them to retreat to Maestricht. In Italy, Don Philip and Maillebois, who had carried every thing before them the preceding year, were still at the head of a powerful army, notwithstanding which, the King of Sardinia made himself master of Asti, one of the strongest places in Italy. The Austrian forces under Prince Lichenstein now amounted to 40,000 men; with these he recovered all the Piedmontese fortresses, and entering the duchy of Milan,

took Lodi, Guástalla, Parma, and other places. Don Philip and Maillebois attempting to force the Austrian camp at St. Lazaro, a battle ensued, in which, so masterly was the conduct of Prince Lichenstein, that they were obliged to retire, after a bloody contest of nine hours, leaving 6000 men dead on the field, and as many wounded. Soon after this disaster, Don Philip received intelligence of the death of his father, Philip V., and finding himself hard pressed by the allies, retired toward Savoy, while Maillebois entered Provence. The retreat of the French and Spaniards was immediately followed by the surrender of Genoa.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United Provinces clamoured loudly against the ministry of the republic. They rose in many places, and compelled their magistrates to declare the Prince of Orange stadtholder, a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William III. The beneficial effects of this revolution to the common cause of the confederates soon appeared in several vigorous measures.

In June, 1747, a partial, but obstinate and bloody battle, was fought near the village of Val or Laffeldt, in which the British troops distinguished themselves greatly; and, if properly supported, might have gained a glorious victory. Hence the *bon mot* of Lewis XV., that “the English not only *paid* all, but *fought* all.” The Duke of Cumberland, however, was on the point of being made prisoner, when Sir John Ligonier rushed at the head of three regiments of dragoons upon the victorious enemy, thus giving the duke time to collect his scattered forces, and to retire without molestation to Maestricht. The loss of the victors on this occasion was double that of the vanquished. After this battle, Marshal Saxe suddenly detached Count Lowendahl, with 30,000 men, to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, and the favourite work of the famous Cæhorn. This place had never been taken, and was generally deemed impregnable. It was defended by a garrison of 3000 men under the Prince of Hesse Philipstal, when Lowendahl sat down before it. He conducted his operations with great judgment and spirit; mines were sprung on both sides, and every instrument of destruction employed for many weeks. Nothing was to be seen but fire and smoke, nothing heard but the perpetual roar of bombs and cannon: the town was laid in ashes, the trenches were filled with carnage; and the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, was still

doubtful, when Lowendahl boldly carried it by assault. All the forts in the neighbourhood surrendered, and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. Lewis XV. immediately promoted Lowendahl to the rank of Marshal of France; and having appointed Count Saxe governor of the conquered Netherlands, returned in triumph to Versailles. Fortunately for the confederates, the French were not equally successful in Italy during this campaign.

The maritime transactions of this year were to Great Britain more advantageous than glorious, as she had a manifest superiority of force in every engagement: the ruin of the French navy was however completed.

Lewis XV. now seriously turned his views to peace; he was discouraged by these losses, he saw his designs frustrated in Germany by the elevation of the Grand Duke to the imperial throne, and the subsequent treaties between the houses of Austria, Bavaria, and Brandenburg. He made advances towards a pacification both at London and the Hague, and a new Congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748. This treaty had for its immediate object, a mutual restitution of all conquests made since the beginning of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. The principal stipulations provided that the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla should be ceded as a sovereignty, to the Infant Don Philip and his heirs male; that all the contracting powers should guarantee to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and that such of the same powers as had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction of the Emperor Charles VI., for securing to his daughter the Empress Queen of Hungary and Bohemia the undivided succession of the house of Austria, should renew their engagements, with the exception of the cessions made by this and former treaties.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FRANCE, SPAIN, AND GREAT BRITAIN, FROM 1748, TO 1759.

IN March, 1751, died, universally lamented, Frederic Prince of Wales. He had been a considerable time at variance with his father, which had thrown him into the opposition, but after Walpole's resignation, in 1742, was reconciled to the king.

An act was passed this year for introducing the New or Gregorian Style into England; which was effected by passing over eleven days in the calendar, in the beginning of 1752.

Europe continued in peace from the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, till 1754, when the disputes between France and England, concerning the limits of Nova Scotia, began to be hotly agitated by the commissioners of the two crowns, and another subject of contention arose relative to the boundaries of the British provinces to the southward. The French had formed a plan to unite, by a chain of forts, Canada and Louisiana, and to circumscribe the English colonies within that tract of country which lies between the sea and the Alleghany or Appalachian mountains. This scheme was ardently embraced by De la Jonquiere, commander-in-chief of the French forces in North America, and by La Galissoniere, Governor of New France. By their joint efforts, forts were erected along the great lakes which communicate with the river St. Lawrence, and also on the Ohio and the Mississippi: the vast chain was nearly completed from Quebec to New Orleans, when the court of England, roused by repeated injuries, broke off the conferences relative to the limits of Nova Scotia.

In 1755, the English government equipped a fleet, under the command of Boscawen, who directed his course to the banks of Newfoundland; a few days afterwards, a French fleet from Brest, under M. de la Mothe, came to the same latitude, in its passage to Quebec. The summer was spent in various skirmishes and partial engagements, and the campaign was estimated to the disadvantage of Great Britain, though the French were driven from their encroachments on Nova Scotia, and 300 trading vessels belonging to France, laden with West India produce, were brought as prizes into the ports of England. Unable, from their inferiority at sea, to make any reprisals, the French resolved to make George II. tremble for his German dominions, which they had for some time threatened; and an army of 200,000 men, with their vicinity to the country to be invaded, seemed to promise success.

While the flames of war were thus breaking out anew between France and England, the southern parts of Europe were visited by a dreadful calamity. On the 1st of November, 1755, a violent earthquake shook all Spain and Portugal, and laid the city of Lisbon in ruins. About 10,000 persons lost their lives, and the survivors, for the greater part, were obliged to take up their abode in the open fields.

The British Parliament generously voted £100,000 for the relief of the sufferers in Portugal, and ships, laden with provisions and clothing, were immediately despatched to Lisbon, where they arrived so opportunely as to preserve thousands from dying of hunger and cold. The throne of Portugal was then filled by Joseph, who succeeded his father, John V., in 1750. King John had been complimented by Pope Benedict XIV., in 1749, with the title of *Most Faithful Majesty*, which his successors have since retained. To preserve the sceptre of Portugal, in the house of Braganza, the Princess Mary Isabella, who, by the accession of her father, Don Joseph, had become sole heiress to the crown, was, by virtue of a special dispensation, married to her uncle, Don Pedro. A similar alliance afterwards took place between her eldest son, Joseph, Prince of Brazil, and her sister, Donna Maria Frances. Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, minister to Joseph, a monster of cruelty and ambition, abused the confidence of his sovereign to oppress the people, and gratify his insatiable avarice and revenge. In 1752, he began to persecute the Jesuits, a measure which is thought by some to have originated in a spirit of revenge, for their having discovered to the king the notorious injustices committed by a brother of Carvalho's, in Brazil; while others suppose it connected with the antichristian conspiracy, then carrying on by the ministers of Portugal, France, and Spain.

To attain his diabolical ends, he procured the king's signatures to sheets of blank paper, which were afterwards filled with any thing he pleased to dictate. By this means and by the abuse of the inquisition, he murdered the exemplary missionary, Father Malagrida, shipped off the greater part of the Jesuits, in insult to the Pope, and buried the remainder alive, in subterranean dungeons, constructed for the horrid purpose. On the death of the king, in 1777, Carvalho was disgraced; but not till he had stained the scaffold with the innocent blood of several ecclesiastics and the first nobility of Portugal, for conspiracies fabricated by himself.

1756.—An English fleet under Admiral Byng was sent to the Mediterranean off Minorca, but the French effected a landing, and got possession of the whole island; Byng not daring to advance to the relief of the Governor-general Blakeney. The voice of public indignation was loud against the admiral, who was superseded by Sir Edward Hawke in the command of the fleet, and brought home under arrest, to be tried for his life. He was found guilty and executed.

Mr. Fox was, at this time, (1757,) at the head of affairs, but soon afterwards made room for the popular minister, Mr. Pitt. In North America, the Earl of London was appointed commander-in-chief, and General Abercrombie second in command. Albany was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous; but this campaign was lost to Great Britain, through neglect and procrastination. Nor did her affairs wear a more favourable aspect in the East Indies. As early as the year 1600, a company had been chartered to traffic in those parts, but the first traders were often grievously harassed by the Dutch, and, at a later period, by the French; who, under Colbert's administration, had made a settlement at Pondicherry. The successors of Tamerlane, the illustrious conqueror of Indostan, especially since the invasion of Kouli Khan, in 1738, had sunk into such a state of indolence and apathy, that the *subahs*, or Mohammedan viceroys of provinces, the *nabobs*, or governors of districts, and even the *rajahs*, or tributary Indian princes, began to consider themselves independent sovereigns, and to make war upon each other at pleasure. Yet the three European powers who had settlements in Bengal, were not permitted to maintain an army, or to fortify the factories they had erected, till, taking advantage of a rebellion raised by the rajahs against the nabob, the English obtained permission to erect Fort William, in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, then a small town, where they had established their chief magazines. From this time forward the trade of the company flourished exceedingly, and the town increased in population, notwithstanding the jealousy of the native powers and Europeans of other nations. Though the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had re-established peace between France and England, hostilities were still carried on in the East Indies, with various success, till, in 1751, an individual appeared, who, by his genius and bravery, asserted the superiority of the latter. This was Mr. Clive, a writer in the East India Company's service. At the head of 150 men he took Arcot, restored it to the deposed nabob, withstood a siege against an overwhelming force of French and Indians, and obliged them to relinquish it at the end of fifty days. Being reinforced shortly after, he pursued them; and, by a complete victory, effectually humbled the pride of the French and their allies. On the death of the nabob, or, more properly, subah, Alaverdy, who had governed with the greatest ability, for many years, the provinces of

Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá, the superiority devolved upon his grandson, Surajah Dowlah, a weak and tyrannical prince. Equally timid, suspicious, and cruel, the new viceroy determined to take vengeance on all whom he feared, and to owe his security to the inability of any power within his jurisdiction to hurt him. The English had particularly awakened his apprehensions, by the taking of Gheria, a fortress in India deemed impregnable; by their increasing strength in the Carnatic, and by the growth of their settlement at Calcutta. The governor and council of Calcutta had moreover refused to deliver up to him a noble refugee who had taken shelter, with all his treasures, within their presidency. Enraged at this refusal, Surajah Dowlah ordered 50,000 men, whom he had assembled, to march directly towards Calcutta, where the English, he was told, were building new fortifications. He, himself, headed his troops, and advanced with such rapidity, that many of them died of fatigue. After attempting in vain to oppose the enemy in the streets and avenues, the English inhabitants took refuge in Fort William, a place in itself by no means strong, and defended only by a small garrison. Panic-struck at the thought of falling alive into the hands of Surajah Dowlah, the governor made his escape to one of the ships, and was followed by several persons of distinction. By a desperate assault, the besiegers soon made themselves masters of the fort, which had then only 190 men in it, of whom 146 survived the siege, and were made prisoners. Surajah Dowlah, enraged at the resistance they had made, and disappointed at finding but a small sum in the treasury, ordered Mr. Holwell, the commander, and his companions to be confined in the common dungeon of the fort, usually called the black hole; and, in that dungeon, only eighteen feet square, were they condemned to pass the night in one of the hottest climates of the earth, and in the hottest season of that climate. They could receive no air but through two small grated windows, almost totally blocked up by a neighbouring building. Their distress was inexpressible; they attempted to force the door without effect. Rage succeeded disappointment. The keenest invectives were uttered to provoke the guard to put an end to their miserable lives, by firing into the dungeon; and while some, in the agonies of torment and despair, were uttering frantic execrations, others were imploring relief from Heaven, by wild and incoherent prayers. When morning appeared, of the hundred and forty-six, only twenty-three survived; these were sent

prisoners to Muxadavad, the capital of the province. Calcutta was pillaged, and Fort William secured by a garrison of 3,000 men.

An attempt was made this year upon the life of Lewis XV. by one Damiens, who having attached himself to the service of some Parliament-men, was enraged at the disgrace into which that body had fallen.* He was torn to pieces by young horses, after having suffered every torture that human invention could suggest.

The latter years of the reign of Lewis XV. were marked by continual disagreements with his Parliaments. Jansenism infected many of the members of that body, and the condemnation of their errors by the celebrated bull *Unigenitus*, instead of silencing, increased their clamour. On their refusal to enregister the bull, the Parliament of Paris was suspended by Lewis, in 1756; and did not resume its functions, till the September of the following year.

The Abbey of Port Royal, in Paris, had long been the residence of solitaries, who have immortalized their names by their writings. Pascal had there composed his "Provincial Letters," a work which, though victoriously refuted in point of doctrine, will ever be admired for its enchanting style and poignant raillery. It was there that Arnaud forged the sharp lances with which he had attacked the Jesuits in his "Morale Pratique," and it was still the asylum of Nicole, of Dugnet, of Racine and his son, when Le Tellier† obtained the demolition of this famous solitude, in 1709; an act of arbitrary power condemned by the majority of his colleagues. The rapid progress of vice under the ministry of the Duke de Choiseuil; the extreme prodigality of this minister, and his secret machinations for the destruction of the Society of Jesus, were not unknown to the virtuous dauphin, son to Lewis XV. Having prepared a memoir, drawn up by the

* Damiens, in his interrogatories, said "that if he had never gone into the chambers of the Parliament, this would never have happened to him; that he had formed his plan after the affair of the Parliament; that if he had not been in the service of one of these Parliamentary men, it would never have entered into his head; that he should not have so often heard the refusal of the Sacraments spoken of, which heated his imagination," &c. See the Memoirs to serve for the Ecclesiastical History of the 18th century, vol. 2, anno 1757.

† Le Tellier was a Jesuit, and confessor to Lewis XIV. See "Memoirs of Abbe Georgel," vol. 1st. See also the "New Disquisition," faithfully translated from "Nouvelles Considérations," &c., printed at Versailles, 18. 7. By a Sulpician.

elegant pen of Pere de Neuville, the dauphin himself presented it to his father. The indignation which it excited in the mind of the king against his unworthy minister, may be easily conjectured; but his weakness in showing it to the duke himself, in discovering the authors of it, and in consigning the contents to oblivion, would be hardly credible, if it were not related on good authority.* From this time the dauphin lost all his influence at court, and a slow malady, the cause of which was not unknown to him, insensibly conducted him to the tomb, in 1765, to the great grief of the French nation.

In vain did Rome, and the virtuous Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris, excommunicate the Parliaments for having employed fraud and calumny to destroy an order approved by the Council of Trent; in vain did the French bishops assembled present a public memorial to attest the sanctity of the institute and doctrines of the Jesuits, the utility of their labours for the instruction of youth and the reformation of morals; its destruction was resolved upon by Choiseuil, who was the soul of the league between *philosophy*, Jansenism, and the Parliaments; he directed their movements to bring about this event, in spite of the king himself, who loved and esteemed the society. But at last the natural indolence of his disposition yielded to the intrigues and solicitations of his unworthy favourites, and Lewis suppressed the Society of Jesus in his dominions, in 1764, by an edict, which was, however, favourable to individuals, as it left them at liberty to pursue their evangelical labours in the ministry, under the habit of secular priests. Their goods were sold, their valuable libraries dispersed, and their colleges seized. But their enemies were not yet satisfied. In order to deprive the church of France of their services, the Parliament of Paris devised a qualifying oath, which required them to abjure their institute, and to approve of the odious stigma which the Parliament had maliciously endeavoured to fix upon it. The greater part of the Jesuits preferred the loss of the small pension that had been assigned them, and voluntary exile, to the infamy of this degrading test.

The death of the queen, Mary Leczinski, who did not long survive her only and beloved son, deprived the Jesuits of a generous protectress. Her father, King Stanislaus, had met

* See "Memoirs of Abbe Georgel, vol. 1st. See also the "New Disquisition," faithfully translated from "Nouvelles Considérations," &c., printed at Versailles, 1817. By a Sulpician.

with an untimely death, the preceding year, (1767,) on whose demise, the duchy of Lorraine was united to the kingdom of France.

The King of Prussia, who had concluded an offensive and defensive league with his uncle, George II., in 1756, finding Maria Teresa unwilling to leave him in quiet possession of Silesia, resolved to annoy her and oblige her to withdraw her forces from that quarter; he, therefore, overran Saxony, and took possession of Dresden. No sooner had he entered Saxony, than a process was commenced against him in the Aulic Council, and also in the diet of the empire; he was put under the ban of the empire, and adjudged fallen from all the dignities and possessions which he held in it. A French army, under the Prince of Soubise, was sent to the aid of the empress-queen. Soubise, before he passed the Rhine, made himself master of Cleves, Meurs, Gueldres, Emden, and whatever belonged to his Prussian majesty in East Friesland.

Alarmed at the danger which threatened his electoral dominions, George II. seemed disposed to enter into the continental war, and even to send over a body of troops for the protection of Hanover. In these views he was thwarted by his new ministers, Pitt and Legge, who considered Hanover as a useless and expensive appendage to the crown of Great Britain, and all continental connexions as inconsistent with our insular situation. These popular ministers were deprived of their employments for opposing the will of their sovereign in council; and the Duke of Cumberland was sent over to command an army of observation for the defence of Hanover. This army, which consisted of 40,000 Hessians and Hanoverians, including a few regiments of Prussians, attempted in vain to obstruct the progress of the Mareschal d'Estrées. The Duke of Cumberland was obliged to retire behind the Weser, and the French passed that river without opposition. His Prussian majesty, advancing towards Prague, gave battle to the Austrians, and broke their centre. After an obstinate and bloody contest, in which the valour and military skill of both armies were fully tried, the main body of the Austrians, to the number of 50,000, were driven into Prague. Another desperate battle followed soon after, in which the Prussians returned seven times to the charge, but were finally forced to relinquish the contest. About 20,000 men were left dead in the field. After this battle, the King of Prussia was forced to evacuate Bohemia. Meanwhile, a Russian army advanced towards the Pregel, passed that river, repulsed the Prussians, and ravaged the King

of Prussia's dominions on one side of Germany, while the French were stripping him of his possessions on the other, and laying the electorate of Hanover under contribution; the Duke of Richelieu, the celebrated conqueror of Minorca, made himself master of Bremen and Verden, and obliged the Duke of Cumberland to take refuge under the cannon of Stade, where, encamped between the Aller and the Elbe, and all communication being cut off, he was under the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven, by which an army of 38,000 Hanoverians and Hessians, in the pay of his Britannic Majesty, was dissolved and distributed into different quarters, without being disarmed, or considered as prisoners of war. The French were left, till a definitive treaty should be arranged, in possession of the countries they had conquered; and hostilities were to cease on both sides. The face of affairs was now less gloomy (for England) in the East Indies. Admiral Watson, on his return from taking the fortress of Gheria, was informed of the loss of Calcutta, with all the horrid circumstances attending it, and resolved upon revenge. By a zealous co-operation of the sea and land-forces, the forts of Buzbuzia and Tannah were speedily reduced; Calcutta was recovered, and the English colours were again hoisted on Fort William: the British commanders next made themselves masters of the large town of Hughley, where the nabob had established his principal magazines. Enraged at so many losses, and dreading more, Surajah Dowlah assembled a large army, and marched towards Calcutta; but he met with so warm a salute as induced him to sue for peace, and agree to such terms as the English commanders thought proper to dictate.

Informed of the new war between France and Great Britain, the English now turned their arms against the French factories in Bengal. They reduced Chandernagore, the principal French settlement in the province, and a place of great strength, situated a little higher on the river Hughley than Calcutta. Colonel Clive next resolved still further to humble the Nabob of Bengal: finding him slow in fulfilling the treaty, and making secret preparations for war, he offered him battle; totally routed his numerous army, which fled in all directions; Surajah Dowlah was taken, brought back to his capital, and put to death by orders of Meerum, son of Meer Jaffier, who had betrayed him, and who succeeded him in the vice-royalty or subahship of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixah.

In Europe, the King of Prussia gained the battles of Rosback

and Lissa, over the combined army of French and Austrians: and George II., enraged at the violation of the treaty of Closter-seven by the French, invested Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick with the chief command of his electoral forces; these, reinforced by a body of Prussian horse, pushed the French from post to post, and obliged them to evacuate successively Otterberg and Bremen. The town and castle of Hoya, on the Weser, were reduced by the hereditary Prince of Brunswick; and while his uncle Ferdinand recovered Minden on the same river, making prisoners a garrison of 4,000 men, an English squadron compelled the French to abandon Embden, capital of East Friesland; and the wretched remnant of that lately victorious army found the utmost difficulty in repassing the Rhine, without being entirely cut off.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

STATE OF EUROPE FROM 1758 TO 1760.

1758.—A SECOND treaty of convention was signed at London between the King of Prussia and his Britannic majesty; by which they engaged to conclude no treaty with the hostile powers, but in concert and by mutual agreement. Germany continued one scene of bloodshed, sieges, marches, and counter-marches; and the close of the year left the war as undecided as it was in the beginning.

In North America, the affairs of Great Britain took a more favourable turn. Louisburg was taken, and the whole isle of Cape Breton submitted to the English, with that of St. John, and whatever inferior stations the French had established for carrying on the cod-fishery in the gulf of St. Lawrence. Fort Frontenac was then conquered, and next the British standard was erected on Fort Du Quesne, to which was given the name of Fort Pitt. in honour of the minister under whom the expedition had been undertaken. In Africa, the English entered the river Senegal, and obliged Fort Lewis, which commands the navigation of that river, to surrender, with all the French settlements on it, and the isle of Goree.

In 1759, the British and Hanoverian army gained the battle of Minden; which, though not complete, threw the court of Versailles into the utmost confusion. It not only

enabled Prince Ferdinand effectually to defend the electorate of Hanover, but to recover Munster and force the French to evacuate great part of Westphalia. The Prussian general, Weden, attacked the Russian army with great vigour, but without effect, at Kay, near Zullichan in Silesia. The Prussians were repulsed with much loss, and the Russians made themselves masters of Frankfort on the Oder. A more desperate battle was fought in the month following, when 12,000 Austrian horse having joined the Russians, they gave battle to the King of Prussia at Cunnersdorf, opposite to Frankfort. After every effort of bravery and desperate courage, the Prussians, overwhelmed by superior force and numbers, were totally defeated. Night alone prevented them from being entirely cut off. Thirty thousand men lay dead on the field, and 16,000 of these were Prussians. The day after this battle, the King of Prussia repassed the Oder, and posted himself so advantageously, that the Russians did not dare to make any attempt upon Berlin. Before the close of the campaign, the Prussian general, Finck, was surrounded by the Austrian army in Bohemia, and forced to surrender at discretion; himself, with eight other generals and nearly 20,000 men, being made prisoners of war. This mortifying blow taught the King of Prussia a lesson of moderation; he put his army into winter-quarters at Freyburg, without attempting any new enterprise; so that, after the loss of so many thousands of men, the affairs of Germany remained nearly in the same situation as at the opening of the campaign. The country had been desolated, and much blood spilled; but Dresden, which was retaken by the imperial army, was the only place of importance that had changed masters.

In America, the English took Guadaloupe, Marigalante, and some other small islands; they also reduced Niagara, and thus effectually cut off the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The taking of Quebec was the great aim they had next in view. The British troops were landed in the night under the heights of Abraham, in hopes of conquering the rugged ascent before morning. The stream was rapid, the shore shelving, the intended landing-place so narrow, as to be easily missed in the dark; and the steep so difficult, as hardly to be ascended in the day-time, even without opposition. General Wolfe was one of the first who leaped on shore. Colonel Howe, with the Highlanders and light infantry, led the way up the dangerous precipice; all the troops vied with each other in emulating the gallant example, and the whole

British army had reached the summit, and was ranged in order by break of day. Montcalm, the French general, could not credit the alarming intelligence, that the invaders had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner command Quebec; but when convinced of the truth, he put his troops in motion for a battle, which could not prudently be avoided. The disposition of the two armies was masterly, and the battle obstinate and bloody. The British fire was supported with such constancy, that the enemy everywhere yielded to it; but just when the fortune of the field began to declare itself, General Wolfe, who was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers, received a bullet in his breast, and fell in the moment of victory. The brave Montcalm and his second in command were both mortally wounded. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, and as many fell in the battle. The remainder of this army, unable to keep the field, retired first to Point au Tremble, and afterwards to Trois Rivières and Montreal. The loss of the English did not amount to 500 men, but the death of General Wolfe was a national misfortune. Under all the agonies of approaching dissolution, his sole anxiety seemed for the fortune of the day; and when told that the French army was totally routed and fled on all sides—"Then," said he, "I am happy,"—and expired. Montcalm, the French general, was not inferior to his antagonist in military talents; nor was his death less remarkable. When told that his wound was mortal, and the hour of his death at hand, "I am glad of it," he replied; "I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec." Five days after the victory gained in its neighbourhood, the city of Quebec surrendered to the English.

In 1760, the Austrians made themselves masters of Berlin, levied a contribution upon the inhabitants, destroyed the magazines, arsenals, and foundations, and pillaged the royal palaces. Leipsic, Torgaw, and Wirtemberg, successively surrendered to the imperialists, while a detachment from the French army in Westphalia, laid Halberstadt under contribution. One part of Pomerania was ravaged by the Swedes, and another by the Russians; the situation of the King of Prussia seemed very perilous, and he resolved to strike a desperate blow. He rushed into Saxony, met the Austrian army under Marshal Daun, in the neighbourhood of Torgaw; a battle ensued; both sides claimed the advantage; but it seems to have been on the side of the Prussians, who immediately entered Torgaw, and recovered all Saxony, except Dresden.

The French, this year, made a spirited attempt to recover Quebec, but they were obliged to retire from before the place; and the English, uniting their forces from different quarters, besieged and took Montreal, and every other place within the government of Canada. The Cherokees made the most humble submission, as well as the other savage tribes. The town of New Orleans, and a few plantations higher on the Mississippi, alone remained to France, of all her settlements in North America, and these were too distant and feeble to molest the English colonies. This same year, the English besieged and took Pondicherry, the only settlement of any consequence remaining to the French on the Coromandel coast. By the reduction of this place and of the small settlement of Manie, on the coast of Malabar, the French power in the east was utterly subverted; and the English became in a manner masters of the whole commerce of the vast peninsula of India, from the point of the Carnatic, to the mouths of the Indus and Ganges, besides the almost exclusive dominion of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixá. This was the state of affairs, when George II. died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his reign. The attachment of this prince to German politics made the early part of his reign unpopular; but the spirit with which he resisted the insults offered to his crown, and the brilliant conquests that adorned the latter years of his reign, have endeared his name to the nation.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE STATE OF EUROPE, AND PROGRESS OF THE WAR, FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE PEACE OF PARIS, IN 1763.

1760.—GEORGE III., eldest son of the late Prince Frederick of Wales, succeeded to the crown of Great Britain, in the twenty-third year of his age; he was universally allowed to be the arbiter of peace and war, and the most powerful monarch in Europe. His first care, after his accession, was to assemble the Parliament, which met in November, and settled the annual sum of £800,000 upon the king, to maintain the civil list.* His majesty soon after married the Princess

* This sum being found insufficient, £100,000 per annum was added to it in 1766.

Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz, and the ceremony of their coronation was performed with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, on the 22d September, 1761.

The liberal supplies granted by the British Parliament for supporting the war during the ensuing campaign, amounted nearly to £20,000,000 sterling. These immense resources astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. Negotiations commenced, but failed of any effect, and the cause of failure may be thus explained. The pacific Ferdinand VI. having breathed his last in 1759, was succeeded on the throne of Spain by his brother, Don Carlos, King of Naples and Sicily. On this event, by an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip should have ascended the throne of the two Sicilies, and Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla have reverted to the house of Austria; saving certain provisions made by the same treaty, in favour of the King of Sardinia. But, as Don Carlos, now Charles III. of Spain, had never acceded to that treaty, he left the crown of the two Sicilies, by will, to his third son, Don Ferdinand, the second being judged unfit for government, and the eldest designed for the Spanish succession. Don Philip acquiesced in this disposition; and the court of Vienna, through the mediation of France, permitted him to remain in possession of the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, without putting in any claim to those territories. The King of Sardinia was quieted with money. Charles III. foresaw that, if the French empire in America were destroyed by the English, that of Spain must also lie at their mercy; this apprehension, which the court of Versailles endeavoured to increase, brought about the *Family Compact* between France and Spain, which the former had so long and so ardently desired. The English minister, Mr. Pitt, considered a war with Spain as the unavoidable consequence of this measure. Being opposed by Lord Grenville and the other members of the council, he resolved to resign the seals.* The Earl of Bute, who had been governor to the young king, was placed at the head of the new ministry, and Lord Egremont received the seals. But it was soon found necessary to adopt the measures of the ex-minister, and, in the beginning of 1762, mutual declarations of war were issued by the courts of London and Madrid, and

* Mr. Pitt was created Earl of Chatham in 1776, and a pension of £3,000 per annum settled on him for three lives. He died in 1778, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, at the public expense.

the greatest preparations were made by both for commencing hostilities with vigour and effect. Great Britain was now engaged as a principal in a war with the whole house of Bourbon; and as an ally, she had the declining cause of the King of Prussia to support against the house of Austria, the Empress of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the Germanic body. Nor was this all: France suggested to Spain the invasion of the neutral kingdom of Portugal, as the most effectual mean of distressing England, her ally. The conquest of Portugal, indeed, seemed no distant or doubtful event. Sunk in ignorance and indolence, reposing on the protection of England, and fed and adorned with the rich productions of Brazil, the Portuguese, under a worthless king, and an impious ministry, laid aside all attention to their internal defence.

A declaration of war against Portugal, by the Kings of France and Spain, soon followed; and a Spanish army was ready to enter that country. His Britannic majesty could not view with indifference the danger of his ally; he sent over to Portugal arms, ammunition, provisions, and near 10,000 land forces. By these means the Spaniards, who had passed the mountains and taken several places, found themselves necessitated to abandon their conquests and evacuate Portugal before the close of the campaign.

Meanwhile, a revolution in the state of Russia changed the face of politics in Europe. Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, second daughter of Peter the Great, died in the beginning of the year 1662, and was succeeded by her nephew, the Duke of Holstein, under the name of Peter III. Peter, besides an extravagant admiration of the character of the King of Prussia, was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the duchy of Sleswick, to which he had pretensions as Duke of Holstein. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, and soon after entered into an alliance with Frederic, without stipulating any thing in favour of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, in order to drive the Austrians out of Silesia; while he commanded another army to march towards Holstein. Sweden followed the example of Russia, in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin. A body of Russian irregulars made an irruption into Bohemia, and retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages which the same barbarous enemy had, in alliance with Austria, before committed on the Prussian dominions.

In the mean while, the dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, taking advantage of the

dissensions between Peter III. and his consort, Catherine of Anhalt-Zerbst, assembled in the absence of the czar, deposed him formally, and invested Catherine with the imperial ensigns. Peter attempted to escape into Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, where he expired a few days after. The odium of his death has generally been cast on his empress; and by reason of the steps which had preceded it, was an event universally expected. The new empress ordered back to Russia all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania. Notwithstanding this defection, the King of Prussia made himself master of Schweidnitz, and eventually of all Silesia; and then turned his eyes towards Saxony and prepared to besiege Dresden. These preparations, and the decisive victory gained by his brother, Prince Henry, near Freyberg, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with Frederic for Saxony and Silesia. The Prussian army then broke into Bohemia, laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Swabia, ravaging the country, exacting heavy contributions, and spreading ruin and dismay on every side.

During these transactions in Germany, the English made themselves masters of Martinique, Granada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and every other place belonging to France, though reputed neutral, in the extensive chain of the Carribbee Islands; but an advantage still more decisive and glorious, was the taking of the famous city of Havana, the principal seaport in the isle of Cuba, the key of the Gulf of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the new world; while, in the East Indies, the whole range of Philip-pines fell, with the city of Manilla, under their power. But, before the event of this successful expedition in the east was known, preliminaries of a treaty of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, which has generally been considered as inadequate to the advantages obtained by the British arms during the war. By the articles of this treaty, the whole of Canada, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, and the greater part of Louisiana, were ceded to Great Britain. France regained possession of Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle, as well as of her East India settlements. She agreed, however, not to erect any fortifications in Bengal, and to destroy those of the city of Dunkirk. The Havana was restored to Spain in exchange for the Floridas and Minorca, which were ceded

to England. These preliminaries were approved, and the definitive treaty was signed at Paris, February, 1763.

About the same time was signed at Hubertsburg, a treaty of peace between the empress-queen and the King of Prussia, by which it was provided that a mutual restitution of conquests and an oblivion of injuries should take place, and both parties be put in the same situation as at the commencement of hostilities.*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PRUSSIA, POLAND, TURKEY, AND RUSSIA, FROM 1763 TO 1772.

THE treaty of Hubertsburg, in 1763, having put an end to what is sometimes called the seven years' war, the King of Prussia returned to his capital, from which he had been absent upwards of six years. The contest in which he had been engaged, was one of the most sanguinary upon record; and the exertions of Frederic, against enemies so numerous and formidable, had been a subject of universal admiration. But the laurels with which his brow was encircled, were a trifling compensation to his subjects for the calamities they had endured, and the blood that had been shed to satiate his thirst for military glory. The throne of Poland becoming vacant the following year, (1764,) by the demise of Augustus III., he concurred with the Empress of Russia to procure the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman of ancient lineage, and high in the favour of Catherine II. This foreign nomination was opposed by a numerous party of dissentient members, who quitted the Diet, and took up arms, but were defeated by the Russians. The Empress Catherine, conceiving herself entitled to the submission of a monarch of her own creation, soon put forward the most exorbitant pretensions; and, tracing on a map a line of demarcation, by which a great part of the Polish territory was made over to Russia, insisted on the recognition of her claim. The kingdom, meanwhile, was torn with internal divisions; the Dissidents, under which name were comprised Greeks, Socinians, and sectaries of every denomination, claiming equal rights with the Catholics, which the prelates and nobles perseveringly refused to concede. These troubles were artfully fomented by Catherine,

* The National Debt at this period amounted to £148,000,000, and the interest of it to nearly £5,000,000.

who found in them a pretext for introducing an army into Poland. Gradually advancing, the Russian troops at length invested Warsaw, and several of those who had been most active against the Dissidents, being seized and bound, were sent into Siberia. After many tumultuous meetings, the Diet yielded and made the concessions required. Various confederacies were now formed by the Poles to support the independence of their country, and Turkey was induced to lend them her aid by declaring war against Russia, in 1768. Two squadrons of Russian men-of-war sailed round the Straits of Gibraltar, and, entering the Archipelago, carried terror and desolation through the islands and coasts of the Ottoman empire. The arrival of the Russians was a signal of revolt to the Greeks, who flew to arms, but were defeated and forced to take refuge in the mountains. The Turkish fleet was at anchor near the island of Scio, when the Russian armament coming up with it, a desperate conflict ensued; the admiral's vessel, and that of the capitan pacha were closely engaged, when both took fire and were blown up. The remaining Turkish vessels ran into a small bay, where, on the following night, fire-ships being introduced among them, they were all destroyed. The partial diversion caused by this war, animated the confederate Poles to new exertion. The kingdom, desolated by anarchy, laid waste by civil war, and depopulated by the plague, which had spread from the Turkish frontier through many of the provinces, was reduced to the most deplorable condition. Stanislaus, a mere puppet in the hands of Russia, scarcely deemed himself safe within the walls of his capital. On the night of the 3d of September, 1771, a party of the confederates entered Warsaw in disguise, stopped the king on his way to the palace, whither he was returning without guards, dragged him forcibly out of his carriage, and conveyed him on horseback out of the city. The night being extremely dark, the conspirators were unable to find their way; and, perceiving the difficulty of carrying off the king, repeatedly proposed to kill him, but were prevented by their leader, Kosinski, who was at length left alone with the royal captive, to whom he promised protection and liberty, on the conditions of pardon and reward. After wandering about for some time, they reached a mill, whence Stanislaus sent a note to the captain of his guards, at Warsaw, who conducted him back with an escort, amidst the rejoicing of the court and people. Of all the conspirators, Kosinski alone escaped punishment.

Poland was now completely surrounded by hostile armies; and in an interview between the Prussian monarch and the Emperor Joseph II.* in 1772, a partition of her territory was finally resolved on. Manifestoes were prepared, in which Russia, Austria, and Prussia set forth their several pretensions; while the royal conspirators introduced each, on his side, an army to support them. Thus was Poland unjustly dismembered of several large and fertile provinces, comprising above seven thousand square leagues of territory, with five millions of inhabitants, and despoiled of one-half of her annual income.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

SPAIN, FRANCE, AND ENGLAND, FROM 1767, TO THE TREATY OF PEACE IN 1784.

THE Jesuits had been calumniated, despoiled, and expelled from Portugal and France; but they were still a numerous and powerful body in the foreign and domestic dominions of the crown of Spain. Among the partisans of heresy and infidelity, who had nothing more at heart than the destruction of an order formidable by its learning, its deep penetration, and its virtues, men were to be found who could unblushingly invent and circulate the most atrocious calumnies.† By forged documents and terrors of insurrection, it was no difficult task to work upon the weak mind of Charles III., and win his consent to the execution of a plan as novel as it was unjust and treacherous. Despatches were forwarded to the governors and civil magistrates in every part of the Spanish dominions, with strict orders to open them only at the hour of sunset, on the 2d of April, 1767. According to the directions therein contained, on a given day and hour, and without the slightest previous intimation, all the Jesuits in Spain, in Africa, in Asia, America, and the isles, were seized; forced on board transports in readiness for the purpose, and cast on the shores of the ecclesiastical state. The flourishing mis-

* Joseph, who had been elected King of the Romans, succeeded to the imperial dignity on the demise of his father, in 1765, and the empress-queen made him co-regent in her hereditary dominions. Leopold, her second son, was at the same time, agreeably to the wish of the late emperor, made Grand Duke of Tuscany.

† One of the maxims of the party was this: Calomniez hardiment; il en restera toujours quelque chose.

siols in Paraguay and California thus disappeared, and the poor Indians were deprived of those to whom they were indebted for the advantages of civilized life and the blessings of Christianity. In vain did Pope Clement XIII., in an autograph letter, inquire into the cause of so unheard-of a proceeding; it was a secret which Charles thought fit, as he said, to seal up in his *own royal heart*, and though the Pope, by a brief, declared the institute pious and holy in its spirit, its laws and its morality, the king's resolution to condemn those whom he would not, because he could not, accuse, remained immutable: Clement ceased not to protect and console the proscribed members of the society till his death, in 1769.

The Jesuits had now disappeared from all the countries where the intriguing ministers, Choiseul, Pombal, and Aranda could extend their influence; the young King of Naples, guided by his father Charles III., had published an edict for their perpetual expulsion from his kingdom of the two Sicilies; and the Duke of Parma, grandson of Louis XIV., had adopted a similar measure. On the elevation of Cardinal Ganganelli to the pontificate, under the name of Clement XIV., the three crowns redoubled their exertions to obtain from the head of the church the entire suppression of the order. During the reign of his predecessor this would have been a hopeless effort; but the love of peace, the dread of exciting schism, some say, a previous simoniacal promise, induced the Pope to yield assent to their wishes. In 1773, he published a brief, suppressing the Society of Jesus throughout the Christian world, effacing it from the number of religious orders, and placing its disbanded members in the ranks of secular clergymen.

The venerable chief of the order, the aged Ricci, was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, and detained there till his death. In his last moments, he made a solemn declaration, that among all his subjects, he knew not one who had been guilty of a crime deserving that name, or the treatment they had experienced. The brief of suppression was received by the bishops, and by all uninfected with Jansenism or infidelity, with grief and consternation; by those whom it concerned, with edifying submission. The empress-queen, who loved and esteemed the Jesuits, yielded a reluctant acquiescence; the Kings of Prussia and Poland maintained them, under the habit of seculars, in possession of their houses and colleges; but no entreaties could induce the high minded Catherine of Russia to connive at the destruction of

an order she had found so eminently serviceable. She even threatened to withdraw her protection from the Catholics in general, if the Jesuits were molested in her dominions. Clement XIV. died the year after the publication of the brief; Cardinal Braschi was elected in his stead, and took the name of Pius VI. From him the empress obtained an authorization, empowering the Jesuits in Russia to live as formerly, according to the institute of St. Ignatius. Thus was one branch upheld by Providence till the restoration of the parent tree.

The year in which Clement XIV. signed the brief of suppression, was the last of the Duke de Choiseul's administration. Supplanted by the intrigues of the reigning favourite, and the party of the Duke d'Aiguillon, his successor in the ministry, he quitted Paris to live an exile on his estates, leaving the affairs of the kingdom in a deplorable condition. The people groaned under the weight of taxes, heavier by far than those of any preceding reign; while the increasing deficiencies of the revenue did not prevent the court from displaying the most profuse expenditure. Thus was France situated, when Lewis XV. was seized with the small-pox, to which disease he fell a victim in 1774. The title of *Bien Aimé* he had long ceased to deserve, and his memory will be ever tarnished by his unbounded prodigalities, weak condescension, and depraved conduct. He was succeeded by his grandson, Lewis XVI., a prince of unblemished morals and excellent disposition, whose accession was hailed with excessive joy by the people, and who began his reign by several very popular acts.

The year 1772 was distinguished by a revolution of a singular nature in Sweden. A year had elapsed since the accession of Gustavus III.; he had been crowned, and the Diet was still sitting, when, having secured the adherence of the army, and made himself master of the senate and the admiralty, he entered the senate-hall, in his regalia, carrying the silver hammer of Gustavus Adolphus in his hand. After many complaints against the Diet, he ordered a new form of government to be read, giving almost absolute power to the crown. All were required to swear they would observe it, and, in such circumstances, it is no wonder that there was not one dissentient voice. The king then rose, took a psalter from his pocket, and entoned *Te Deum*, in which all the audience joined. Thus an important revolution was effected without bloodshed. Gustavus displayed on this occasion great talents, firm resolution, and profound dissimulation.

The court of Denmark was at this epoch (1772) divided into two parties ; at the head of one was the Queen Caroline Matilda, sister of George III., and Counts Brandt and Struensee ; the other party was headed by the queen-dowager, widow of the late King Frederic V. Christian III., now reduced to a state of mental imbecility, was prevailed upon to order the arrest of his queen and her accomplices, who, he was assured, had resolved on compelling him to abdicate his crown. Struensee from being the most powerful man in Denmark, saw himself chained in a dungeon ; he was tried with Brandt on a charge of high treason, found guilty, and executed. The queen was conveyed to Zell, where she was maintained in affluence by her brother, and died, at the age of twenty-four, in 1775.

The disputes which had for some years been carried on, between Great Britain and her colonies in America, now began to assume a very serious aspect. The chief subject of contest was the right claimed by Parliament of levying taxes on the colonists ; which they denied, maintaining that they could not lawfully be taxed without their own consent. In order to raise a revenue from the transatlantic possessions of Great Britain, Mr. Grenville, when minister, proposed a stamp act, which, though afterwards repealed, was unfortunately revived in 1766, and a duty laid upon tea, and various other articles imported into the colonies. A combination was immediately formed in America not to receive any of the commodities thus taxed ; and three ships arriving at the port of Boston, laden with tea, were boarded by a number of men disguised like Indians, who threw the whole cargo of each into the sea. In consequence of this opposition, an act was passed for shutting up that port, and for changing the constitution of Massachusetts Bay, and Quebec. The Americans, on their side, agreed to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, till the obnoxious acts should be repealed ; at the same time they sent over deputies to profess their loyalty, and to supplicate a change of measures in their regard. But their remonstrances were disregarded : coercion in its utmost rigour seemed to be resolved upon, and every attempt at conciliation was negatived in Parliament by large majorities. In the same proportion was a spirit of determined resistance diffused through the colonies, which became more animated on the receipt of every new act or declaration from England. In April, 1775, the first blood was shed in this unfortunate contest. General Gage had sent a body of

troops to destroy a military depot at Concord : they succeeded in their design, but on their return were dreadfully harassed by the Americans, and the loss of life on both sides was considerable. All the colonies now began to act in open hostility to the British government, and appointed a congress to manage their affairs. This body of representatives instantly passed resolutions for raising an army and issuing a paper currency on the security of the *United States* of America, (a title now first assumed,) and for stopping all importations to those places, which still remained faithful in their allegiance to Great Britain. However, the arrival of Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with reinforcements from England, kept up the spirits of the royalists, and they were victorious at an engagement near Bunker's Hill. In compliance with the general wish, Congress appointed George Washington, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia, commander-in-chief of the American forces ; and his conduct and military skill justified the partiality of his countrymen. The main body of the British army being blockaded in Boston, an invasion of Canada was attempted, but proved unsuccessful ; the Americans, in their retreat, burned St. John's and abandoned Montreal.

The spring of 1776 was signalized by the bombardment of the town of Boston, which the British general at length determined to evacuate by sea ; as the rear embarked, Washington entered the town triumphantly on the other side. All hope of an accommodation being now at an end, the thirteen colonies declared themselves free and independent ; abjured their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and renounced all political connection with that country. In 1777, Howe gained two victories over Washington, and Philadelphia surrendered to the king's troops ; on the other hand, General Burgoyne was surrounded at Saratoga, and obliged to lay down his arms. Overtures for peace were at this time held out by General Howe and his brother, the admiral ; but concessions, which formerly would have been received with gratitude, were now rejected with contempt.

1778.—The French, who, from national jealousy, had long viewed the revolted colonies with a favourable eye, now entered into open alliance with them as independent states, and war between France and England became inevitable. On this occasion, as on many others, Lewis XVI. suffered his own judgment to be overruled by evil counsellors, for such an alliance was in every respect impolitic. The Marquis de la

Fayette arrived in America towards the close of the campaign of 1777, and there laid the foundation of that reputation which afterwards rose so high, though perhaps not beneficial to the real interests of his country. The certainty of a war with France induced General Clinton, who now held the principal command, to quit Philadelphia, and retire to New York. Pondicherry in the East, and St. Lucia in the West Indies, surrendered to the English, but Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada fell into the hands of the French, who assisted the Americans with a fleet commanded by Count d'Estaing. Spain soon united her arms to those of France and America; took Pensacola and closely invested Gibraltar; while the combined fleets of the two neighbouring powers rode for some time triumphantly in the British channel, but withdrew without attempting any thing of importance. The Dutch had long been suspected of assisting the Americans; and as the States-general declined giving any satisfactory answer to the declamations which were made on the subject, war was declared against Holland towards the close of the year 1780. In the month of June, the same year, the city of London exhibited one of the most disgraceful scenes that religious bigotry ever produced. It arose from the fanaticism of an association of Protestant sectaries, who took offence at some recent relaxation of the penal statutes in favour of the Catholics by the legislature. Several chapels, belonging to persons of that religion, were destroyed; and on the commitment of some of the rioters, the mob rose in a mass and pulled down the prison of Newgate, liberating the prisoners, who readily joined them in the work of destruction. In short, the King's Bench, the Fleet Prison, the houses of Catholics, and of those who were suspected of favouring them, were seen at once in a conflagration. Among others, Sir George Saville and the Earl of Mansfield, whose liberality of sentiment had marked them out to the vengeance of the fanatics, were very great sufferers. During these disgraceful scenes, the ministry seemed appalled, and the magistrates of London, in general, except Mr. Wilkes, shrunk from the exercise of their authority. At length, by the king's command, who retained his presence of mind, troops poured into London, and order was restored by military force. Many of the rioters lost their lives by the fire of the soldiers, or by the sentence of the law; and Lord George Gordon with difficulty escaped, for the weak, rather than wicked part he had taken in this affair.

Some relief had also been conceded by the Irish Parliament to the Catholics of that kingdom in 1778, especially an act which enabled them to take leases for any term of years not exceeding 999. A violent contest had long been maintained respecting the legislative independence of Ireland. An address to his majesty, stating the grievances of the nation and the declaration of right, was powerfully supported by the eloquence and patriotic exertions of Mr. Grattan, and passed unanimously. The measure of conciliation was at length adopted by England, during the administration of Earl Shelburne, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, in May, 1782, by a repeal of the 6th of George I. The motion was proposed in the House of Commons by Mr. Secretary Fox, in a speech of uncommon eloquence and perspicuity, and carried without a dissenting voice. By this act of the British Parliament was the independence of Ireland in legislating for herself established, to the great joy of the whole nation. The Irish Parliament rewarded the services of Mr. Grattan by voting him £50,000, enacted the Habeas Corpus Act, abolished the Sacramental Test, rendered the judges independent, and established the Bank of Ireland. The illustrious order of St. Patrick was instituted the following year, of which the king and his heirs were appointed sovereigns.

In Sept. 1780, the Resolution and Discovery returned from a voyage round the world, but, to the grief of every person who respected worth and talents, without their captains, Cook and Clarke. The former, whose life had been devoted to useful and important pursuits, was unfortunately killed by the natives of Owhyhee, an island he had discovered in the South Sea; the latter died soon after of a decline.

The war with Holland was vigorously pursued, and St. Eustatia, St. Martin, and St. Bartholomew, the colonies of Demerara and Essequibo, with a great number of trading and some armed vessels, fell into the hands of the British.

In America, alternate successes and reverses attended the arms of England; but victory itself was of small advantage to the mother country, while defeats only served to teach the colonists the art of conquering in their turn. On the whole, however, the cause of Great Britain became every day more desperate. Earl Cornwallis, after distinguishing himself on various occasions, was, at length, surrounded by General Washington, assisted by the Marquis de la Fayette, and obliged to surrender Yorktown, as well as himself and all his forces, amounting to 7000 men. (1781.) The untimely fate of Major

André, an able and estimable young officer in the British service, excited universal sympathy. While concerting measures with General Arnold, who offered to betray West Point, an important post, into the hands of the English, he was taken by the Americans and shot, in pursuance of a sentence passed by a council of officers. He met his death with the fortitude of a soldier, and was honoured with a monument in Westminster Abbey. The cause of American independence was, in the mean time, warmly advocated by Fox and Burke in the House of Commons; in fact, after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, a change of measures became absolutely necessary; and as a change of ministry was a requisite preliminary, an entire alteration took place in the cabinet, on the 27th of March, 1782, under the auspices of the Marquis of Rockingham, who was appointed first lord of the treasury. In order to confirm the favourable opinion which had attended their coming into power, the new ministry consented that the independence of America should be acknowledged, and entered with ardour into measures for promoting a general pacification. For this purpose, Mr. Grenville was invested with full powers to treat at Paris with the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent nations; and orders were despatched to the commanders-in-chief in America, to acquaint them with the pacific intentions of the British cabinet, and with their offer of independence to the United States. Peace was now most ardently desired by all ranks of people in this country; a signal naval victory, gained over the French fleet under Count de Grasse, by Admiral Rodney, in April, rendered essential service to the interests of the country, and facilitated the pending negotiations.

The Bahama Isles, however, soon after surrendered to Spain, which had previously conquered Minorca; but, to counterbalance this loss, the British reaped immortal laurels at Gibraltar, under the brave General Elliott, and converted one of the most formidable attacks which had ever been made, to the destruction of their assailants.

The Marquis of Rockingham dying, was succeeded in office by Lord Shelburne, under whose auspices the preliminary articles of peace were finally adjusted, (1783,) by which America gained all she had been contending for, and was acknowledged an independent nation.

The address of thanks for peace being lost in the House of Commons, Lord Shelburne resigned, and was succeeded by the former unpopular minister, Lord North, who had recently formed a coalition with Mr. Fox, though they had hitherto

differed so widely in their political sentiments. Peace was proclaimed in July, 1784; and the same year the coalition was dissolved, the ministry again changed, and Mr. Fox made place for his popular rival, the Honourable William Pitt, second son of the celebrated Earl of Chatham, then only twenty-four years of age.

Though peace was thus restored in the west, the East Indies still continued the scene of warfare. The ambition of Hyder Ally, Sultan of Mysore, who, from a private soldier, had raised himself to the rank of a powerful prince, obliged the company to take up arms against him. Being defeated by an army from Madras, he withdrew into a mountainous district, whence, by the superiority of his cavalry, he harassed the English and intercepted their supplies. In 1780, he formed a confederacy with the Nizam of the Deccan and other native princes to expel them from India; and, passing the Ghauts, burst, like a torrent, into the Carnatic. Victory was for some time in his favour; but General Sir Eyre Coote, arriving to take the command, defeated him in three different actions, and effected a great improvement in the affairs of the company. Hyder Ally died in 1782, leaving a kingdom of his own acquisition to his son, Tippoo Saib, who became one of the most powerful princes in the east, and an inveterate enemy of the English.

CHAPTER XL.

GERMANY, PRUSSIA, AND RUSSIA, FROM 1778 TO 1791.

1778.—THE death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, gave rise to a new contest between the Prussian monarch and the court of Vienna. In him was extinguished the Ludovician line of Bavaria, which had possessed the duchy nearly 500 years. He was succeeded, both in the electoral dignity and in his dominions, by Charles Theodore, the Elector Palatine of the Rhine. This prince was in the forty-fourth year of his age;

and having no issue, the large possessions of the double electorate were held in expectation by the Duke of Deux Ponts, who was the nearest relative on the male side. Scarcely had Charles Theodore arrived in his capital, Munich, before the Austrian troops, who had only waited for an account of the late elector's death, poured on all sides into Bavaria. Unable to contend with an army of 60,000 men, the new elector concluded a treaty with Vienna, by which, in order to preserve a part of his possessions in Bavaria, he gave up more than half of them. The Duke of Deux Ponts protested against this arrangement, and the King of Prussia undertook to support his rights. The Emperor Joseph, then very young, commanded the Austrian army; and when Frederic quitted Berlin to oppose him, he sent the following note to one of his ministers:—"You will find money enough in the treasury for the public supplies. I trust in God that I shall soon return, as I am only going on a short excursion to teach a young gentleman his military exercise."

The campaign, however, was rather long; but no action of consequence took place; and a treaty of peace was, at length, concluded at Teschen, 1779, by which Austria renounced all pretensions to Bavaria, excepting only the district of Burghausen, and agreed to make satisfaction to the Duke of Deux Ponts.

During the American war, when England, Holland, France, and Spain tinged with blood the seas of the two hemispheres, the pride of Catherine II. was hurt by the English, who paid no respect to the vessels freighted in her ports; and as she was determined to protect the navigation of the north, she proposed to the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm to equip each a squadron, which, combined with hers, should defend the neutrality. Russia had experienced from her conquests on the frontiers of Turkey, a rapid increase of commerce; her vessels passed the Dardanelles, proceeded to Smyrna and Alexandria, and traded in the ports of Italy. On the shores of the Nieper, Catherine had laid the foundation of the city of Cherson, which already counted within its walls 40,000 inhabitants, and from the yards of which were launched vessels of commerce, and ships of war, destined to strike terror into the Ottoman Empire. Desirous of conquering a country so long the object of her ambitious projects, the empress resolved to commence operations, by detaching the Crimea from Turkey. Having, therefore, excited an insurrection there, the Russian troops, under pretence of assisting the khan, found means to possess themselves of the country.

1783.—Intimidated by the immense preparations of Catherine, the Porte concluded a treaty with Russia, by which the empress retained the sovereignty of the Crimea, of the isle of Taman, and a great part of the Kuban, while her right was acknowledged to the dominion of the Euxine and to the passage of the Dardanelles. Thus did she acquire, without the necessity of a battle, an immense territory and 1,500,000 subjects. To the Crimea and to the Kuban, she restored their ancient names of Taurida and Caucasus. In the Caspian Sea, Catherine maintained a fleet which cruised along the Persian coasts and burned all the vessels it met in those parts. She revived the commerce with China, and sent thither several young Russians to learn the language. The spirit of toleration was a striking feature in her government; not satisfied with having appointed a Catholic bishop, she established at Mohilef a seminary of Jesuits; and, on the day of the benediction of the waters, her confessor, by her orders, gave an annual grand entertainment to ecclesiastics of every denomination, called *the dinner of toleration*, at which have been seen the clergy of eight different forms of worship.

After this short view of the increasing power of Russia, we must return to the affairs of Germany. The year 1780 was marked by the death of the empress-queen, Maria Teresa, a princess who appears to have inherited all the spirit, firmness, and magnanimity of her most renowned ancestors, united with a clear understanding, a happy temper, and a captivating condescension. In the course of her life she experienced many vicissitudes of fortune; but her unfailing courage enabled her to surmount all difficulties, and to elevate the house of Austria to a degree of power which it had not enjoyed since the time of Charles V. Exclusive of her engagements against Poland, she was entitled to universal respect for the justice of her administration; and in the characters of a wife and parent she is deservedly proposed as a model to posterity.* Her son, Joseph II., succeeded to her extensive possessions, but his unfortunate reign presents us with a very different prospect. To this prince's early acquaintance with the infidel King of Prussia, and with the deistical productions of his literary friends, may be traced the subsequent sacrileges and tyrannical acts which have rendered his reign ever memorable in the annals of the church. The dissolution

* The Prince of Kaunitz, long the Nestor of the European ministers, enjoyed to the last the confidence of his sovereign, and died at the advanced age of eighty-four.

of the Society of Jesus contributed also not a little to overturn the sentiments of religion he had imbibed from his mother. Early impressed with an esteem for the Jesuits, it was observed, that when he visited the different provinces of his empire, he gave particular attention to their establishments. In 'Transylvania, 7000 families were pointed out to him, whom they had recently reconciled to the Catholic church. On his return to Vienna, Joseph made this circumstance the subject of a congratulatory letter to Pope Clement XIV., and received from him in reply, the brief suppressing an order, whose apostolical labours he had so much admired. This was the moment made use of, by the lovers of innovation, to confirm his prepossessions against the power of the Holy See and church hierarchy; and no sooner had the empress expired, than he began to circumscribe the Pope's authority, and to destroy monastic orders in his dominions. Pius VI., who undertook a journey to Vienna to expostulate with the emperor, could not engage him to put a stop to the innovations by which he afflicted the church. Jansenism triumphed in Germany; the principles of Luther were taught in the universities, and the lyceums of the Freemasons succeeded the Jesuits' schools for the instruction of youth. But, of all the subjects of the emperor, the Catholics of the Austrian Netherlands suffered most from the new edicts. Faithful, however, to their religion, they repulsed the troops that would have compelled them to conform to the imperial innovations; and, after sustaining many sieges, and gaining several battles, Belgium, in a few months, proclaimed its independence, not like the Jacobins, of the altar and the throne, but of philosophical impiety. Joseph protected the Protestants and Jews in his dominions; he also granted liberty to the press, as far as regarded the productions of profane literature and modern philosophy, but he established a severe censorship, over Catholic writings. By an edict which does honour to his memory, he abolished the slavery of the peasants in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; and similar measures were soon after taken to meliorate their condition in Austrian Poland.

In 1786 died Frederic II. of Prussia,* surnamed the *Great*, at the age of seventy-four: till the day that preceded his death, he retained all those uncommon powers of understanding for which he had been remarkable, and, although afflicted with

* The night he died, he went to bed in his regimentals, with his hat and boots on.

the gout, applied to business with the same indefatigable attention. In estimating his character, we must remember that he was heir to a despotic monarchy, trained up from his infancy in military and arbitrary ideas, and that his education had been a good deal neglected. But it is probable, that with his taste for literature, and his distinguished talents, he would have made a better king, if he had not early imbibed the pernicious skepticism of Voltaire.* His vanity, which blinded him to his own interest, in this particular, was ridiculed even by Voltaire himself; while the protection he afforded the enemies of Christianity, made religion consider him as one of her principal adversaries. He desired to unite in his own person the reputation of a great king, a wise legislator, an illustrious hero, an accomplished general, a fine poet, and an enlightened philosopher. Active, enterprising, indefatigable, and intrepid, he continually alarmed his neighbours; and their apprehensions were increased by his appearing not to scruple at any means which might effect his purpose. As a general, his talents were of the first order; and few kings devoted so much time and attention to promote the happiness of

* Voltaire, the chief of the antichristian conspirators, was born at Paris, in 1694, and gave early proofs of the fertility of his genius, and the activity of his imagination; deep researches and solid reasoning will in vain be sought for in his compositions. Inordinate vanity appears to have been his characteristic, and to establish his reputation by the overthrow of the Christian religion, the grand aim of all his numerous writings, in prose and verse. To succeed in his impious undertaking, he soon found that associates would be necessary, and he selected for the purpose Diderot and d'Alembert; who were, like himself, atheists, deists, and skeptics, by turns. In order to propagate their opinions, these infidels undertook to compile a universal dictionary of the arts and sciences. The Encyclopedia was announced to the public as the masterly performance of the most scientific men in France, and the articles regarding religion were professed to be treated of by men of known learning and orthodoxy. But, under the specious appearance of reverence and respect for religion, the most pernicious doctrines are inculcated; and the unsuspecting reader imbibes, before he is aware, the spirit of infidelity and materialism in full force. The impious and satirical writings of Voltaire obliged him to abscond, in order to escape imprisonment. He retired to Ferney, near Geneva, where he resided till 1778, when the young Lewis XVI., yielding to the solicitations of his friends, permitted him to return from exile. The infidel sect triumphed, and celebrated the event in the most pompous manner. In the midst of these enthusiastic honours, Voltaire was seized with a mortal distemper, which terminated his life, in such transports of rage and despair, that his physician, the celebrated Tronchin, considered his death the most salutary lesson that could be impressed upon those whom his writings had corrupted.

their subjects, as did Frederic II., during the last twenty years of his life. In short, he was certainly one of the most distinguished and extraordinary princes of whom the records of history have preserved any memorial. He was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II., whose reign it was believed would be as glorious as had been that of his predecessor, and more mild and peaceable; but these good beginnings were soon followed by weakness, carelessness, prodigality, and vanity. Prussia took an active part in the affairs of Holland, and, resenting the treatment which the Princess of Orange, sister to the King of Prussia, experienced, overran Holland with her armies, and obliged the Dutch to reinstate the stadtholder in the authority of which he had been deprived.

Catherine II. again calls our attention to the events of her reign. A magnificent procession was this year (1786) to be made to Cherson, where she was to be declared Queen of Taurida and protectress of all the Tartar tribes. It was expected that the adjoining nations would flock from all parts to do homage to the new sovereign of the east, who would thus be enabled to conduct her grandson, Constantine, to the gates of Constantinople, to the sovereignty of which she had destined him since his birth. The prince, however, sickening of the measles, was obliged to be left behind, and the empress took only a kind of formal possession of Cherson and the Crimea. Her ambition had excited the jealousy and fears of the Turkish empire; the insults and injuries of which the Porte complained were neither few nor imaginary, and war was accordingly declared against Russia in 1787. A formidable Turkish army advanced to the shores of the Danube, and the standard of Mohammed was prepared to be unfurled. Catherine, who impatiently expected the declaration of war, was ready with her fleets and armies, and Joseph II. sent 30,000 Austrians to her assistance. Surrounding nations beheld with jealousy the intentions of the empress, who threatened to destroy the equilibrium of Europe; and the King of Sweden declared war against Russia and laid siege to Fredericksham. But Gustavus III., who hoped to carry terror to the gates of Petersburg, had the mortification to discover that no confidence could be placed in his soldiers, and was finally obliged, by the superior force of Russia, to evacuate Finland. Having restored discipline in his army, he did not cease to annoy the enemy; and he gained a victory over the Prince of Nassau, who had, with superior numbers, given battle to

the Swedes. In this engagement the Russians lost half their fleet and more than 10,000 men. This defeat accelerated a peace, and Gustavus, sensible of his imprudence, accepted the proposals of the empress. In the mean time the Russian forces, estimated at 150,000 men, under the command of Potemkin and Count Romanzof, assisted by Suwarrow and other officers, took Oczakov, by an assault that cost the Russians 12,000 men, while 25,000 Turks perished in the town. Suwarrow routed the Turkish army with a horrible carnage near the river Rimnik, and having captured Tutukay, in Bulgaria, wrote to the empress four lines of Russian poetry, which signified, "Glory to God! Praise to Catherine! Tutukay is taken! Suwarrow is in it!" Town after town submitted to the conquerors. Ismail, however, still held out; Potemkin, therefore, sent orders to Suwarrow to take that city within three days. Accordingly the assault was commenced. Fifteen thousand Russians purchased with their lives the bloody laurels of their general, who wrote to the empress with his usual brevity, "The haughty Ismail is at your feet!" Elated with the news of these successive victories, Catherine thus accosted Sir Charles Whitworth, the British ambassador, when he next appeared at court. "I hope," said she, with an ironical smile, "that since the king, your master, is determined to drive me out of Petersburg, he will allow me to retire to Constantinople." The war, during this period, was extremely unsuccessful on the side of Austria: and, in addition to the vexations resulting from his ill success, the emperor had the mortification to witness the rapid destruction of his army by a dreadful mortality. Prince Lichtenstein being obliged by illness to resign the command of the army in Croatia, Marshal Laudohn was persuaded to succeed him, and the great name of that veteran officer seemed to reanimate the troops with vigour and confidence. Under his auspices, fortune began to smile on the Austrian arms, which had been long attended with such ill success, and Belgrade was taken. (1789.) Torrents of blood were shed on both sides, but Joseph determined to prosecute the war till his tarnished glory should be restored to its former lustre. The campaign of 1789 was successful; but a spirit of discontent prevailed in the Austrian dominions. The war raged in Transylvania, and the Hungarians sent a haughty memorial to Vienna, demanding the restoration of their privileges and their crown, &c., on which condition they promised to defend the kingdom: the emperor, worn out with bodily disease, complied

with most of their demands, and promised to visit Presburg in order to be crowned, if he should be alive the following May. Death, however, defeated his intention. He died penitent of the trouble and scandals he had created in the church, and ordered the same to be signified to Pius VI. On the accession of his brother Leopold, a separate peace was concluded with the Porte by Austria. The preliminaries of peace between Turkey and Russia were signed in 1791, and thus a war was terminated, which had cost the latter 200,000 men, and the Turks 330,000. Brussels surrendered to the imperial arms the same year; and Leopold put an end to the troubles which had agitated the Low Countries, since the innovations in religion set on foot by his predecessor, by granting a general amnesty, and promising to respect the privileges of the Belgians.

CHAPTER XLI.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. .

THE ministers to whom Lewis XVI. gave his confidence, after the dismissal of the Duke d'Aiguillon, were persons of limited abilities; and the difficulties in which the nation was involved assumed daily a more alarming aspect. The disordered state of the finances has already been alluded to; and although some attempts had been made to introduce economy into the administration of affairs, they had been injudiciously applied, and had tended to divest the regal dignity of its splendour, without producing any adequate result, or preventing the deficit* from accumulating to a frightful extent. The plans of the banker Necker, who had been intrusted with the administration of the finances, being considered extravagant and chimerical, he was dismissed; and his successor, M. de Calonne, suggested the expedient of calling together an Assembly of Notables, or persons of note from various parts of the kingdom, selected chiefly from among the higher orders, and nominated by the court. Before this assembly, which

* The deficit is the amount by which the revenue of the state fell short of the expenditure. In the assembly of Notables, it was stated at 50,000,000 of livres; under the administration of Necker it exceeded four times that sum. Necker was a foreigner and a Protestant, and as such excluded by the laws of the kingdom from the ministry to which he had the hardihood to aspire.

met at Versailles, and was opened by the king with great solemnity, in February, 1787, the minister brought forward his plan. He proposed, by a general land-tax, to equalize the public burdens, of which the whole weight had hitherto fallen on the industrious classes; the clergy, nobles, and magistrates being exempt. Notwithstanding the equity of this measure, it was rejected; and so great was the clamour raised by the privileged classes and the Parliaments against the minister, that he resigned and withdrew into England; the Assembly was dissolved, and separated without effecting any thing of importance. The Archbishop of Toulouse succeeded M. de Calonne, and, in his turn, devised some expedients to meet the exigencies of the state; among which was a loan, which the Parliament declared illegal, and perseveringly refused to enregister. This body, so long noted for its spirit of resistance to the will of the sovereign, was now influenced by a faction devoted to the Duke of Orleans, whose determined hostility to the king was notorious, and founded, it is asserted, on that monarch's refusal to appoint him to the office of Lord High Admiral of France. He now openly avowed himself the head of the discontented party, and admitted the counselors of the Parliament to hold in his palace nocturnal meetings, in which their projects of opposition were discussed and arranged. The king, being informed of these proceedings, sent an order to the duke to withdraw to his country-seat, banished the refractory Parliament to Troyes, and issued *lettres de cachet* for the arrest of two of the members. The queen was suspected of being the adviser of these measures: the dissatisfaction they excited was so marked, that they were shortly after revoked, and the duke, at the solicitation of his virtuous duchess, allowed to return to Paris.

At this juncture, France was a prey to famine; the inclemency of the weather had, in some measure, destroyed the promise of the last harvest, and an edict, permitting the free circulation of corn, had enabled a few monopolists to possess themselves of what remained. At the head of these miscreants was the Duke of Orleans, who thus became the arbiter of the life and death of the multitude. The granaries which his immense resources had enabled him to fill, were opened or shut according to his pleasure or policy; while the gold which his emissaries scattered among the populace with profusion, gained him a vast number of partisans, by whose means he sought to transfer to his own head the crown worn by the elder branch of his family. Writers in his pay worked

up the soil, which vice and incredulity had prepared, and sowed there the seeds of rebellion and apostasy. The manifestations of public discontent growing day by day more frequent and violent, it appeared necessary to convoke the states-general of the kingdom, to prevent a civil war. They accordingly assembled at Versailles, on the 5th of May, 1789. The speech of the king to the deputies, expressive of his wish to make every sacrifice to the public good, was received with great applause. In it, he declared himself the first friend of his people, and thanked the clergy and nobility for having renounced their pecuniary privileges to clear the public debt. Disputes, however, soon arose as to the method of voting. The deputies of the people, called of the *third estate*, being equal in number to the clergy and nobles united, the latter proposed that each of the three should have its separate hall of meeting, and that the votes should be given by order, which would render the numbers of the third estate less available. This arrangement was warmly opposed by the deputies of the people, who insisted on voting by head, and forming one general assembly, to which they summoned the other two orders to unite themselves. The mandate was obeyed by a few of the nobles and several among the inferior clergy, and a meeting was held, in defiance of the royal authority, in the tennis-court of Versailles, on the 17th of June, 1789, by the united members, who formed themselves into a National Assembly, and took an oath not to separate till they had given a new constitution to France. The king, being supported by the great majority of the nobles, declared these proceedings null, but was afterwards prevailed on to sanction them, and the union of the three orders took place.

In the mean while, an army, under the command of the Duc de Broglie, advanced into the vicinity of Paris, and Necker, to whom the finances had a second time been intrusted, was again suddenly dismissed. Tremendous commotions ensued in the capital: the citizens, being joined by the French guard, took up arms; and the court found that little reliance could be placed on the troops of the Duc de Broglie, who soon became infected with the popular spirit of license and insubordination. Nor was this to be wondered at; the most inflammatory harangues were echoed from the tribune of the National Assembly, among which, those of the Duke of Orleans, (recently returned from England,) of the Abbé Siéyes, and of Mirabeau, a creature of the Orleans faction, were conspicuous. The latter vehemently demanded that the

troops should be withdrawn from the neighbourhood of Paris, and that a decree should be issued, declaring that the ministers who had been dismissed merited the confidence of the people. The busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans were carried in triumph through the streets of Paris, the populace loudly demanding the recall of the former; a concession which the king was constrained to make. At length, the storm which had been so long gathering, burst forth in all its fury. On the 14th of July, 1789, an enraged multitude, aided by some among the military, carried the Bastile by storm, and levelled it with the ground. The governor, M. de Launay, an upright and humane man, fell a victim on this occasion to the popular indignation. He had ordered a flag of truce to be hung out, and, as it was alleged, had taken advantage of the confidence it inspired, to intimidate the assailants, by pouring on them a heavy fire of cannon and musketry. Whether this were the result of accident or treachery, it had no other effect than to increase their rage almost to frenzy: the governor was massacred, and his head carried through the streets on a pole. This crime unavenged, was only a prelude to scenes of far greater atrocity. The National Assembly, meanwhile, continued to sit; and on the 20th of August issued a declaration of rights, to serve as a basis to the new constitution, by which the form of government was declared a limited hereditary monarchy, and the person of the king inviolable: it was promulgated the following month, and received the royal sanction. But the instigators of rebellion were not yet satisfied; early in October, the royal guards gave, as was customary, a banquet to the newly-arrived regiment from Flanders, and the queen, with the dauphin in her arms, appeared in the assembly. The enthusiasm of these brave men in the cause of their insulted sovereigns was manifested by repeated acclamations; and a sonorous voice having intoned the well known couplet from the opera of *Richard Cœur de Lion*, beginning, "O Richard! O mon roi! l'univers t'abandonne!" the chorus was taken up, and sung with all the feeling which existing circumstances were likely to inspire. This natural and affecting scene was made the subject of the grossest misrepresentation. The plan of a counter-revolution, it was falsely said, had been laid open in a moment of excitement, and the national colours trodden under foot. The French guards, who had been refused the exclusive custody of the royal person, which they had demanded, became discontented and mutinous, and even

the regiment of Flanders, on whose fidelity so much reliance had been placed, soon passed over to the standard of revolt. That the scenes of the 5th and 6th of October were the results of a deep-laid conspiracy, of which the Duke of Orleans was the chief promoter, there can be no doubt: it seems less certain whether Bailly, the Mayor of Paris, and La Fayette, who commanded the National Guard, were privy to it. Paid by the agents of sedition, and worked up to fury by the high price of bread, a troop of demagogues, the dregs of the faubourgs, accompanied by women of the lowest class, went in crowds to Versailles. The National Guard assembled on the Place de Grève under arms, and imperiously demanded to be led thither also, to call out the king, and conduct him to Paris, where his presence was necessary to restore tranquillity. To this mutinous demand the council of the commune acceded, and signed an order to La Fayette to lead his troops to Versailles. The National Assembly was still sitting, when a horde of ferocious women demanded entrance; fifteen were admitted, and boldly stated their determination to conduct the king to Paris. Several members of the assembly, who wished to preserve the dignity of the crown, proposed that they should go in a body to protect the king; this project was insolently overruled by Mirabeau. However, the President, Mounier, departed at the head of a deputation, to which the heroines of the popular faction joined themselves. La Fayette, on arriving at Versailles, had ranged his troops around the castle, where the greatest tranquillity appeared to prevail. The women had presented their request and departed; the captains of the Guards had retired to rest, for La Fayette had made himself responsible for the royal safety. Fortunately, the ladies in attendance on the queen were still watching in her antechamber, when, before daybreak, a band of ruffians forced open the doors of the castle and attempted to make their way to the royal apartments. The garde-du-corps on duty had scarcely time to exclaim, "Save the queen," when he fell, covered with wounds: his place was instantly supplied by another, who met with a similar fate. The ladies meanwhile were not inactive. They roused the queen, who, breathless with terror, quitted her bed, ran along the corridor which led to the king's chamber, and took refuge in his arms. The assassins, having by this time overpowered the guard, forced open the doors of the queen's room, and, rushing to the bed she had just quitted, plunged a dagger into it in several places. They soon, however, ascertained that their

design had failed, and were proceeding full of rage to the apartments of the king, when the arrival of the Marquis de la Fayette, with a gallant troop of 300 men, obliged them to withdraw. Their retreat was favoured by the presence of the Duke of Orleans and other conspirators, who had arrived to witness, as they hoped, the success of the plot. At an early hour the royal family appeared on the balcony, and were received by the troops below with repeated shouts of joy. The grenadiers of the French guard, recalling their ancient loyalty, swore to die for their king; and, embracing the Swiss gardes-du-corps, promised them friendship and fraternity. The courts of the castle were filled with multitudes waiting the moment of departure, which La Fayette entreated the king to hasten. At length the cortégé set out, preceded by the mob, carrying on pikes the heads of the slain, and rending the air with appalling shouts of mingled joy and ferocity: the royal family, wearied and depressed, were conducted in a sort of mock triumph to the Tuileries. An inquiry was entered into as to the authors of these outrages; yet the Duke of Orleans, whose participation was notorious, met with no other chastisement than an order to withdraw into England. Application being made to the queen for her testimony, she replied, with great magnanimity: "I saw all, heard all, and have forgotten all."

On the 2d of November, the revenues of the church were placed, by a decree of the National Assembly, at the disposal of the nation; the clergy having in vain offered to relieve the public burdens and pay the debt of the state, by a gratuitous gift of four hundred millions of livres. On the 11th, the geographical distribution of the kingdom was altered, and France was divided into departments, (chiefly borrowing their names from the nearest mountains or rivers,) districts, cantons, and municipalities.

It was the misfortune of Lewis XVI. to be governed by timid counsels, and to sanction, on the plea of necessity, many decrees which his own sound judgment and virtuous feelings would have urged him to reject. The tears and expostulations of the queen were often made use of, to extort from him concessions of this nature. Still it was evident, that in signing the acts of the new legislature, his heart did not guide his hand, and a feeling of distrust was excited, which Lewis deemed it prudent to avert. On the 4th of February, 1790, he repaired to the hall of the National Assembly, where a chair was placed for him at the right hand of the President, who did

not rise at his entrance. Lewis, though a little disconcerted, made a conciliatory speech, expressive of his adhesion to the will of the national representatives, and his desire to defend constitutional liberty. This declaration was a triumph to the Jacobins,* who caused it to be notified to all foreign courts; a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving, and the city was brilliantly illuminated at night. On the 14th of June, a grand federal meeting was held in the Champ de Mars, where 200,000 men were assembled under arms, and Lewis, at the head of the National Representatives, took the civic oath. In the following September, Necker, whose popularity had for some time been on the decline, gave in his resignation, and retired to Copet, near Geneva, his native place. Decrees subversive of the altar and of the throne, now followed each other in rapid succession; cloisters were thrown open and suppressed, marriage was declared to be only a civil act; the clergy were called upon to swear fidelity to the unfinished and already schismatical constitution, and on their refusal deprived of their benefices, into which others, elected by the different administrations, were immediately intruded. From this time commenced a series of persecutions, which compelled the most estimable members of the French clergy and nobility to seek an asylum in foreign lands. The Comte d'Artois and his family, who were particularly obnoxious to the Orleans faction, had already quitted France; their example was followed, in February, 1791, by Mesdames Victoire and Adelaide, the king's aunts, who, notwithstanding the difficulties thrown in their way by the Jacobins, reached Rome in safety. The whole kingdom was now on the verge of anarchy; paid emissaries of the dominant faction traversed it in all directions, pillaging the castles of the nobility, and exciting everywhere tumult and sedition. The royal family were held captives in the midst of Paris, by La Fayette and his satellites; while the regal dignity itself, shorn of its honours, and divested even of the privilege of doing good, became a daily-increasing source of affliction and disquiet to the peace-loving and virtuous monarch, who bore the empty title of constitutional king. Though Lewis had rejected the offers of six hundred devoted nobles, who had formed a confederation, to rescue him from thralldom, and were afterwards distinguished as Knights of the Dagger, from having gained access to the Tuileries with arms concealed beneath their clothes, he was induced to listen to the overtures

* The Jacobins were so called, because they held their meetings in the convent whence the Jacobin friars had been expelled.

of the Marquis de Bouillé, then military governor of Metz, who recommended that the royal captives should privately quit Paris, promising that different detachments of the troops, under his command, should meet and escort them to the frontiers. Accordingly, on the 20th of June, 1791, the king, with all the members of his family who were still in France, departed privately from the Tuileries, and arrived between twelve and one at the village of St. Ménéhould, four leagues distant from Varennes. Here the king was recognised by the postmaster, Drouet, a furious republican, who caused the tocsin to be sounded in the neighbouring villages, and the National Guard to be put under arms. The royal fugitives were arrested and detained at Varennes, while an express was sent off to ascertain the intentions of the national representatives. Meanwhile, La Fayette, who had been gained over to connive at the king's evasion, carried the news of it with well-dissembled astonishment to the National Assembly, who immediately declared Lewis suspended from his functions, and ordered the government to be carried on by a council of ministers. A paper was produced, signed by the king on the eve of his departure, in which, annulling all the decrees he had sanctioned while under restraint, he laid open the motives of his evasion, and his intention of repairing to Montmédy, there to take such steps as might seem conducive to the happiness of his people. Notwithstanding this pacific declaration, the Jacobins asserted that the king had quitted France only to return at the head of a foreign army, to punish Paris, to dissolve the National Assembly, and re-establish despotism on the ruins of liberty. While these reports were urging the Parisian populace almost to madness, news arrived that the king's flight had been arrested at Varennes, and that the royal fugitives were on their return to the capital. This unfortunate attempt destroyed all confidence between the court and the people, whom it was now easy to persuade that Lewis favoured the hostile designs of the emigrants, a large body of whom were assembled under the orders of the Prince of Condé, and another still more numerous surrounded the children of Henry IV. at Coblenz; whither the Marquis de Bouillé and Monsieur and Madame, who, by taking a different route, reached Brussels in safety, had also repaired.

In August, 1791, an interview took place at Pilnitz between the emperor and the King of Prussia, which was attended by many of these illustrious exiles, and in which the two sove-

reigns agreed to take up arms in support of the royal authority in France.

The new constitution was completed in September; and Lewis, having signified his acceptance of it, was permitted to resume a shadow of authority. The National Assembly was replaced on the 1st of October, by the second legislature, consisting chiefly of literary men, votaries of the new order of things, both as to religion and politics. Among their earliest measures was a decree, condemning to death all emigrants, without exception, who should not return to France before the first day of the ensuing year; and to deportation, every priest or bishop who should refuse to swear adhesion to the civil constitution of the clergy. Indignation now inspired Lewis with courage and energy; making use of the privilege granted him by the constitution, he peremptorily refused to sanction this decree. To prove, however, that he did not invoke the aid of a foreign army to avenge his personal wrongs, he consented, at the instigation of his ministers, to declare war against Austria and Sardinia. The Jacobins had, in this measure, a secondary object; that of employing on the frontier those troops of the line who might have proved an obstacle to the change of government they now sought to effect. On the 20th of June, 20,000 men, headed by the execrable Santerre, presented themselves at the palace of the Tuileries. They were in the act of forcing the door of the royal apartment, when Lewis ordered it to be opened. The furious assassins instantly rushed in, demanding with vehemence the death of the queen, the expulsion of the priests and aristocrats. The calm intrepidity of the king checked their fury; several drew back in astonishment, and for some time a profound silence ensued. The tumult then recommenced, and several different attempts were made to stab the king, but the blows were warded off by some faithful attendants. After horrible outrages, which were closed by putting a red bonnet on his majesty's head, and obliging him to drink to the health of the nation, the mayor, Petion, entered the palace, and, addressing the king, told him he had nothing to fear. Lewis took the hand of a grenadier, who was standing by, and, placing it on his heart, asked him if he found that it beat quicker than ordinary.

The brevity of this account will not admit of a detail of the horrid massacres which were perpetrated on the memorable 10th of August. The king was obliged to seek refuge with his family in the Legislative Assembly, after his faithful Swiss guards, and all the servants who were in the palace had

been cut to pieces. Some of the members observing that the constitution forbade the legislative body all deliberation in presence of the king, the royal family were conducted to a box, ten feet square, situated behind the president's chair, where they remained fourteen hours, during the burning heat of a summer day. On the 13th, they were conveyed as state prisoners to the Temple; the civil list was suspended, royalty was abolished, and all the statues of the kings overturned. It had been foreseen that the altar and the throne would be overthrown at the same time. In effect, the principal cause of the recent outrages committed against Lewis XVI., was his refusal to sanction the resolutions adopted in the Legislative Assembly respecting the emigrants, and those among the clergy who rejected an oath incompatible with their sacred obligations.* All these were marked out for destruction; and orders were given to drag as many as could be found to several convents of the city, now converted into prisons; principally that of the Carmes, the seminary of St. Firmin, and La Force. On the 2d of September, the dreadful butchery commenced. On that and the two following days, 1085 state prisoners, among whom were 300 priests, the Princess de Lamballe, and many other persons of high rank, were sacrificed in a manner shocking to humanity. Those who had emigrated were received in Italy, England, and other places, with the greatest charity and benevolence.

We must now return to the situation of Great Britain at the date of 1788; which we were induced to defer in order not to interrupt the narrative of the French Revolution.

England was enjoying peace and recovering from her losses, under the ministry of Mr. Pitt, when the king's illness spread a gloom over the nation. The regency-bill was about to pass, but his majesty's sudden recovery rendered it unnecessary. The principal measures proposed by Mr. Pitt, after his accession to power, were, first, his East India Bill, in 1784; secondly, his motion, in 1785, for a parliamentary reform, which was negatived by a majority of seventy-two members; thirdly, his plan for the liquidation of the National Debt, by the establishment of a Sinking Fund, in 1786; and, fourthly, the act on the treatment of negroes, and the amelioration of their condition, in May, 1788. In 1791, the penal

* Talleyrand de Perigord, Bishop of Autun, was the first prelate in France who, by the civic oath, withdrew himself from the jurisdiction and communion of the see of Rome. His example was followed by three bishops only, out of one hundred and thirty-eight.

statutes were softened down, and several pains, penalties, and disqualifications were done away with. The constitution of Canada was fixed by dividing that province into two governments, and giving a Council and House of Assembly to each. The same year, the Duke of York was married to the Princess Frederica Charlotte, sister to the King of Prussia.

With equal conduct and good fortune, Earl Cornwallis, who had accepted the office of governor-general of Bengal, carried on the war with Tippoo Saib, in which he had been involved through the intrigues of France. Overcoming all impediments, he formed the siege of Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore, and concluded, on his own terms, a peace with Tippoo, in 1791. In connection with the affairs of India, may be noticed the celebrated trial of Warren Hastings, the late Governor-general of Bengal, who was arraigned at the bar of the House of Lords, on a charge of high crimes and misdemeanours. Burke and Sheridan supported the accusation, with their usual eloquence; but he defended himself in a speech of great ability, and obtained a verdict of honourable acquittal, after a trial which had lasted for seven years. In addition to a handsome donation conferred upon the accused, the expenses of the suit, amounting to £70,000, were defrayed by the East India Company.

In the mean time, the French revolutionists found many admirers in England; while the discriminating and thinking part of the nation apprehended equal danger from the associations formed in this country, and from the intemperate and ungovernable licentiousness of its natural enemies. A great riot took place at Birmingham, in which the library of the philosopher, Dr. Priestley, was consumed. The militia was embodied, and proper methods taken for securing the internal peace of the kingdom; yet it has been since known, that, far from assisting Lewis to quell the disturbances in France, Mr. Pitt secretly encouraged the disaffected there, by way of reprisal* for the assistance the French had given the Americans in the late war. Difference of opinion respecting the revolution occasioned a disagreement between the principal members of the opposition, Mr. Burke, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Sheridan. Mr. Burke severely censured the leaders of affairs in France, and demonstrated, in a celebrated work, that their object was the destruction of the monarchy; he was answered by his colleagues in office; and in reply to Mr. Sheridan, Burke declared that from that hour their political connexion

* See *Memoirs of Abbé Georgel*, vol. ii., page 419.

was at an end. The publication of his "Reflections," in 1791, involved the nation in a war of principles. Ministers were inclined to favour his sentiments, as the numerous seditious writings that had appeared since the French Revolution gave them considerable uneasiness. This year, Mr. Wilberforce again introduced the question of the Slave Trade, and, after a long discussion, the gradual abolition of it was at last resolved upon.

1792.—The armies of the allied sovereigns were on the point of entering France, when the Emperor Leopold was seized with a pleuritic fever, which brought him to the grave, in the second year of his reign. Francis II. succeeded his father in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and was soon after raised to the imperial throne. The King of Prussia induced him to declare war against France, and the Duke of Brunswick soon arrived at Coblenz with the first division of the Prussian army; but the haughty terms in which his manifesto was conveyed injured the cause of loyalty, as it engaged many young Frenchmen to enlist without bounty in the service of their country. The French princes, who had quitted France, published a declaration in the month of August. In the mean time, the French twice successfully invaded the Austrian Netherlands. On their side, the grand army of the allies entered France, and took possession of Longwi, August the 22d; about which time the Marquis de la Fayette came over to the allies, with a part of the staff of his army. The French general, Dumouriez, who, with all the other generals, had given in his adhesion to the provisional government, was at this time strongly encamped at Grandpré, where he had the mortification to learn that Verdun had been delivered up to the allies. His out-posts were repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, attacked. The post, Croix-au-bois, was however forced; and as his army was reduced to 15,000 men, who had to contend against 60,000 Prussians and Austrians, together with a body of emigrants, he was forced to retreat. It required all his skill to prevent the complete rout of his troops, who were seized with a panic terror. He now proceeded to occupy the camp of St. Ménéhould. Towards the latter end of September, the important fortress of Thionville was besieged by the allies. It was gallantly defended by General Wimpfen, who, in a successful sortie, seized on the magazines and military wagons of the besiegers. Dumouriez, having been joined by Generals Kellermann and Beurnonville, the combined army advanced in pursuit of him;

repeated skirmishes ensued, but nothing decisive was effected on either side. The allied troops, encamped in the sterile parts of the province of Champagne, suffered so much from famine and disease, that their camp became the scene of desolation and death. The Prussian monarch, after having twice sent his adjutant-general with propositions to General Dumouriez, retreated with his troops.

The French, under General Custine, having made an irruption into Germany, in a few weeks made themselves masters of Spire, Worms, Mentz, and Frankfort. The Duke of Saxe Teschen, governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands, having joined the army of General Clairfayt, and the Austrian forces being strongly intrenched on the heights of Jemappe, Dumouriez came to a resolution of attacking them, on the 6th of November, and succeeded in forcing the Austrians to retreat, after a very vigorous defence. The conquest of Belgium followed this very important victory. General Clairfayt, who had now assumed the command in chief of the Austrian forces, after having spent nearly two months in retreating, took up his position on the right bank of the Rhine.

About the middle of September, Lewis and his family were immured in a tower of the Temple, which had been carefully insulated from the rest of the building, by a strong wall and deep ditch. The windows were closed, and no light admitted but through a narrow aperture at the top; eight iron doors forbade access to the stairs which led to the king's apartment. In this prison, he was deprived of pens, ink, and paper, but was allowed to retain his books. Before his captivity, Lewis had sometimes appeared irresolute and weak; but in his prison he was a model of serenity, fortitude, and courage, in the midst of every kind of outrage.

On the 21st of September, the Legislative Assembly made place for the National Convention; the first on the list of the members who composed it was Robespierre, to whom France was indebted for the formation of the too celebrated *Commune*, which organized the murders and proscriptions in the capital. Marat, the echo of Robespierre, the ferocious Danton, and *Egalité*, late Duke of Orleans, were among the members, of whom Petion was president. On the 11th of December, the king was cited to the bar of the Convention, and appeared there with the dignity and firmness which suited his rank and innocence. Among the crimes alleged against him, he was accused of having sent money to the enemies of

France,* of being the author of the war waged against the French territory, of having conspired against the liberty of the nation, &c.; to all which he replied with equal firmness, precision, and dignity. Counsel was allowed him, and Target having refused his services, the king chose M. de Malesherbes† and M. Tronchet, to whom was afterwards joined M. de Seze. On Christmas-day, Lewis finished his will, and disposed himself for his last hour, with a full persuasion of its near approach. His eloquent defence was read on the following day by M. de Seze, and he was again reconducted to the Temple, amidst the insulting cries of the populace. The death of Lewis was decided in the Convention by a majority of five voices; his appeal to the people was rejected through the persuasion of the Duke of Orleans, and of all his demands, two only were granted; namely, that he should have a private interview with a priest of his own choice, and another with his family, from whom he had been entirely separated since the commencement of his trial. The clergyman he fixed upon to assist him on this melancholy occasion was the Abbé Edgeworth, from whose hands he received the sacraments of the church, on the last fatal morning. Lewis met death with the constancy and piety of a martyr, at a quarter past ten on the 21st January, 1793, in the thirty-eighth year of his age and the nineteenth of his reign.

* Twelve millions of livres had indeed been sent to Vienna from Versailles, in 1785, on the following occasion. The Emperor Joseph II., finding his unreasonable demands as to the opening of the Scheldt and the cession of Maestricht, rejected by the Dutch, declared war against them in 1784. A compromise was effected, through the mediation of France, by which Joseph consented to withdraw his claim, if indemnified to the amount of 10,000,000 of florins. As the Dutch were unable to pay more than half that sum, Lewis, who had imprudently promised his concurrence to his brother-in-law, was constrained to make good the remainder.

† This venerable magistrate had been united with some of the most famous philosophers of the day; but two or three visits to Lewis in the Temple effected an entire change in his sentiments. At the sight of the patience and the serenity of the prince, no doubt remained in his mind of the force and truth of religion. From that time he gave himself up to the practice of an exemplary piety. (See Abbé Caron, "*Vie des Justes*," vol. iv. p. 148.) He died by the guillotine during the reign of terror.

CHAPTER XLII

SWEDEN, SPAIN, WITH A CONTINUATION OF THE WAR FROM
1793 TO 1796

1792.—THE spirit of insubordination and liberty which had spread into Sweden, proved fatal this year to Gustavus III. He had given cause of discontent to his senate, by engaging in a war against Russia, without the consent of the States: and though he had endeavoured to suppress the dissatisfaction of his nobles, the evil was not eradicated. The king had resolved to put himself at the head of the French emigrants, whose hopes and enthusiasm he had cherished and inflamed, and to attack the dominions of France. To this measure, not only the nobles, but the people were extremely averse. He was assassinated at a masked ball, on the 16th of March, 1792, by Ankerstroem, a captain in the guards, who was no sooner apprehended, (having been traced by a pistol that he had dropped near the king,) than he confessed and gloried in the deed. He was sentenced to have his right hand cut off and his body impaled. The king's wound proved mortal, but he lived several days, and displayed in his misfortunes a constant courage and an heroic firmness. Immediately on his death, his son, Gustavus IV., was proclaimed king of Sweden, and his uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, was appointed sole regent, till the prince should have attained the eighteenth year of his age. The mild and equal conduct of the regent preserved the country from the horrors of internal war, and he dedicated his whole attention to repair the losses which it had sustained. At the conclusion of the year 1793, a conspiracy was discovered and quelled, at the head of which was Baron Armfeldt and others of the nobility.

Charles IV. ascended the throne of Spain on the demise of his father, in 1789, and was crowned in September, with the utmost pomp and solemnity. The Spanish government testified great uneasiness at the French Revolution, and carefully guarded against the propagation of the principles of those who attempted to defend it, by prohibiting the circulation of newspapers and French publications. In consequence of a dispute relative to the sovereignty of Nootka Sound, his Catholic Majesty prepared to take up arms against England, in 1790; but the naval force of the latter being vastly superior, he

altered his intentions, and consented to give the satisfaction demanded by Great Britain.

The mediation of the Spanish court between Lewis XVI. and his rebellious subjects having been disdainfully rejected, and this refusal being soon after followed by the execution of that unfortunate monarch, Spain declared war against France, in 1793; and the first actions which took place between the Spanish and republican forces were decidedly in favour of the former power. In England, Parliament being sitting when news was received of the execution of the King of France, advantage was taken of the melancholy sensations it produced to enforce the necessity of war, (which was, however, strongly opposed,) preparations for which had been made. The republicans were beforehand with us, and in 1793 declared hostilities against England: the Stadtholder of the United Provinces and Russia soon after joined in the alliance against France.

Meantime Dumourier, having conquered all the Austrian Netherlands except Luxemburg, was ordered to invade Holland, and confided to General Miranda the siege of Maestricht. He himself took Breda and several other places; but while he was employed in the blockade of Bergen-op-Zoom, the British army, commanded by the Duke of York, landed in Holland and recovered Williamstadt from the hands of the French. The Prince of Coburg surprised the French army before Maestricht, and obliged Miranda to raise the siege of that place, having defeated the republicans at Aix-la-Chapelle with prodigious slaughter. About this time news was received at Paris of the unfavourable posture of affairs in St. Domingo, and of the surrender of Corsica to the British. The Spaniards had invaded a part of Roussillon, with an ardour and vigilance that were not expected from such a foe; and in La Vendée an insurrection had been kindled by the royalists. The forces there collected assumed the title of the Catholic army, and rallied in the name of God and the king. It was headed by the nobility, who had not emigrated thence so much as from the other parts of France. Alarmed at these disasters, Dumourier returned into the Netherlands, and compelled the Austrian advanced posts to retire from Tirlemont. On the 27th of March, 1793, a general engagement took place at Neerwinden, where the French were defeated with the loss of 4,000 men and several pieces of cannon. They are said to have displayed singular courage and address upon this occasion, but they were overpowered by the superior numbers and more

regular discipline of their enemies. Shortly after this event, Dumourier incurred the displeasure of the Convention, and four commissioners were actually empowered to arrest him; but on his discovering their intentions, he caused them to be immediately conveyed to Clairfayt's quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family. He then ventured to sound his army respecting the restoration of monarchy in the person of the dauphin; but the mere proposal excited such general indignation, that he was instantly obliged to flee to the allies for protection, after narrowly escaping a tremendous discharge of musketry, which his exasperated troops poured upon him and his faithful attendants. The latter end of June was only distinguished by some petty skirmishes between the two grand armies; but in the ensuing month, the Austrians gained some advantages of greater importance. The garrison of Condé, after sustaining a blockade of three months, was obliged to capitulate to the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Valenciennes surrendered to the Duke of York, who took possession of it in the name of the emperor. About the same time Mentz was reduced, after a most tedious siege, by the King of Prussia.

A glorious naval victory was gained by Lord Howe over the French fleet of twenty-seven of the line, off Brest, in June, 1794.

The Committee of Public Safety continued to desolate France by the most horrid butcheries and persecutions. Danton withdrew from the Convention, and left all the power in the hands of Robespierre, Collot D'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Couthon, and St. Just. Their first act of authority was to apprehend all suspected persons, and to try them by revolutionary committees, the powers of which were so unlimited that they could readily seize on the four-fifths of the population of France.* One of their earliest victims was General Custine, whose murder was followed by that of Marie Antoinette of France, the unfortunate widow of Lewis XVI.† She

* On the 6th of October, (15 Vendemiaire,) the Convention ordered the Gregorian calendar to be suppressed, and substituted in its place a new era and republican calendar, which began from the 22d of September, 1793. The Sundays were struck out, and the months divided into decades.

† The queen's imputed partiality to her native land, whither, it was falsely asserted, she had sent large sums of money, had made her very unpopular in France. The unfortunate affair of the diamond necklace, in which the names of the sovereigns, and of a prince of the church, appeared in connection with that of a vile impostor and her associates, tended to augment the public dislike. The cardinal whose credulity had been so

had suffered, during three months, all the horrors of a close captivity in the prison of the Conciergerie, from whence she was led before the revolutionary tribunal. She perished on the 16th of October, 1793, having survived her husband nearly nine months.* The numberless cruelties and massacres perpetrated in many parts of France at this time, exceed all that imagination can picture to itself. The cities of Lyons, Marseilles, and Toulon entered into a confederation against the Conventional Government; Marseilles soon submitted, Lyons was closely besieged; but the people of Toulon entered into a negotiation with the English Admiral Hood, who was then cruising in the Mediterranean, and he took possession of the town and shipping, in the name of Lewis XVII. The city of Lyons surrendered in October, after a long and desperate siege, during which the greatest horrors were committed by the satellites of the Convention. It is impossible to follow Collot D'Herbois in the hellish devices to which he resorted to torture his victims. The guillotine having been employed till the executioner was fatigued, another method was resorted to, and the rest of the destined sufferers were driven by crowds into the Rhone, or shot in the public squares. Soon after the queen had been brought to the scaffold, the Convention entered upon the trial of Brissot, who was executed with one-and-twenty others belonging to the Convention. The wretched and intriguing *Egalité* was soon after brought to the block. He was accused of having aspired to the sovereignty, from the commencement of the Revolution; though with what truth it is not easy to determine. He was conveyed in a cart to the place of execution, and suffered amidst the insults and reproaches of the populace, whose contemptible idol he had been.† The Committee of Public Safety sent a new army

basely imposed upon, was sent into exile, as soon as the tribunal had pronounced him innocent; this harsh measure, the odium of which fell on the queen, added greatly to the number of her enemies.

* Through the charitable exertions of some pious ladies, a nonjuring priest found access to her prison, from whose hands she had the happiness to receive the last consolations of religion. The constitutional priest, Girard, who was appointed to accompany the queen to execution, said to her; "Voici, Madame, l'instant de vous armer de courage." "De courage!" répondit fièrement la fille des Césars, "il-y-a si long tems que le malheur m'en a fait faire l'apprentissage, que ce n'est pas quand le Ciel va finir mes maux que je commencerai à en manquer."—*Tableau Synoptique*.

† L'Abbé Carron, in his "Vie des Justes," observes, that there are crimes, which, though they will never be pardoned at the tribunal of men, may yet find forgiveness at the tribunal of the God of mercy; and there-

into La Vendée, with instructions to deliver up that unfortunate, but loyal country, to fire and pillage. Carrier, one of the most atrocious monsters of the Revolution, was sent to Nantes. He there spared neither age nor sex. On pretext of removing his prisoners from one place of confinement to another, he caused them to be bound together, and embarked in boats so contrived, by means of a valve at the bottom, as to become filled with water on reaching the middle of the Loire. A great number of these victims were priests, who had secretly remained in the kingdom, in order privately to assist those Christians who still continued firm in their attachment to the faith of their forefathers. These were hunted like wild beasts from the subterraneous dwellings in which they celebrated the holy mysteries, like the apostolical men of the primitive church; and which they often left at the hazard of their lives, to attend the sick and dying. Those who were taken and not destroyed at Nantes, in the manner already related, were conveyed to Rochefort, to be embarked for Cayenne. Their number amounted to seven hundred and sixty, who were stowed in two frigates; five hundred and thirty-seven perished during the voyage, which lasted ten months. A law permitting priests to marry, and a law of divorce, were passed by the Convention; but after having endeavoured to efface every religious institution, and after establishing temples dedicated to reason, the necessity of a belief in God was still recognised; Robespierre then proposed to have a solemn public festival in honour of the *Supreme Being*, to be celebrated in the Champ-de-Mars, June the 8th, 1794. The cruelties of Carrier* drew over many partisans to Charette, the royalist general; and it has been calculated that the war of La Vendée cost the French more men than had been sacrificed in hostilities with the different continental powers. In the south of France, neither the exertions of the allies, nor the surrender of the Toulonese, were sufficient to establish a monarchical government. The garrison of Toulon having made a vigorous sortie, (1793,) in order to destroy some batteries which the French were erecting, and succeeded in the attempt, unfortunately pursued the French, till they unexpectedly en-

fore cites with satisfaction an authentic and edifying account of the lively repentance, resignation, and desire of atoning to divine justice for his sins, expressed by the Duke of Orleans, in his last moments, to the priest (M. Lothringer) who assisted him on that solemn occasion.

* Carrier and other accomplices in the affair of Nantes, paid the forfeit of their crimes on the 16th of December, 1794.

countered a considerable force. At this moment General O'Hara, who was commander-in-chief at Toulon, came up, and while he was endeavouring to bring off his troops with regularity, received a wound in his arm, and was made prisoner. Soon after his capture, the town was evacuated by the allies. It was attacked by the republicans on the 19th of December, at five in the morning, and at six the republican flag was flying on one of the strongest posts. The town was then bombarded; and the allies and part of the inhabitants having set fire to the town and shipping, precipitated their departure, which was attended with the most melancholy consequences. Numbers who were left behind, crowded to the shores, demanding the protection they had been promised on the faith of the British crown. Some plunged into the sea, others shot themselves, in order to escape the tortures they might expect from the republicans. During this time, the flames were spreading in all directions; and the ships that had been set on fire were every moment expected to explode, and blow up all around them. Nothing could equal the horror of the sight, except the still more appalling cries of distraction and agony that filled the ear, for husbands, fathers, and children, left on shore. In vain did these beg their lives on their knees: they were massacred without mercy, or distinction of age or sex. The most moderate calculation makes the number of these sufferers amount to 2,000. Many more owed their safety to the generosity of the Spanish Admiral, Langarra, who, equipping a considerable number of transports, hastened to their assistance.

The siege of Toulon was the first occasion on which the celebrated Bonaparte signalized his military abilities. He was then lieutenant of artillery in the conventional forces sent against that town, and in consequence of the intrepidity displayed by him in the reduction of a fort, Barras, one of the representatives of the people, who was deputed to superintend the siege, procured him the rank of general of the artillery.*

* Napoleon Bonaparte, the son of Charles Bonaparte and Letitia Ramolino, was born in Ajaccio, a town of Corsica, August 15th, 1769. His father, whose ancestors were from Italy, was also a native of Corsica. Some years after the conquest of the island by the French, (1769,) he was sent in the deputation to the King of France, and continued, notwithstanding his impoverished condition, to live on terms of intimacy with the Governor of Corsica, who placed his second son, Napoleon, at the military academy of Brienne, in Champagne, where he was instructed in the usual branches of education, became versed in history and geography, and attained to great proficiency in the mathematics. Thence he removed to the

In the latter end of March, Danton and several of the principal revolutionists were arrested and executed as conspirators against the republic. The government of France now became almost entirely vested in one man, the usurper Robespierre, a name which will be transmitted with infamy to the latest posterity.* Under his sanguinary administration, the prisons of Paris contained at one time between 7,000 and 8,000 persons, some of whom were almost daily led to execution. In one of these barbarous slaughters, the admirable and virtuous Princess Elizabeth, sister to Lewis XVI., was included: she suffered the last of twenty-six persons, whom she animated, by her words and example, to meet death with constancy and resignation. But the fall of the tyrannical demagogue rapidly approached. A strong party was secretly formed against him in the Convention, headed by Tallien, Legendre, and some others. Robespierre and his brother were arrested, and having found means to escape, gained some partisans in order to form a new Convention; but being deserted by the people and the national guard, they were attacked; and finding all efforts to resist useless, they endeavoured to turn their arms against themselves. They were, however, conducted before the revolutionary tribunal, and the two Robespierres and nineteen others executed, the 28th of July, 1794.

In the campaign of this year, the arms of the new republic were successful on every side against the allies. In Flanders, General Jourdan gained the battle of Fleures; and Charleroi, Ipres, Bruges, and Courtray surrendered to the French. Ostend was evacuated, Mons was taken, and the Prince of Coburg

military academy at Paris, in 1785, and in his nineteenth year entered as a cadet officer in the royal artillery. Bourrienne relates of him at this time the following characteristic anecdote: On the fatal 20th of June, he followed from curiosity the crowds who were hastening to the attack of the Tuileries, and stood opposite to the palace, when the unfortunate monarch appeared at the window, with the red cap of liberty on his head. Nothing could exceed Bonaparte's indignation at this sight. "What madness!" said he to Bourrienne, who accompanied him; "how could they allow these scoundrels to enter? they ought to have blown four or five hundred into the air with cannon, the rest would then have taken to their heels." Shortly after he withdrew into Corsica, and did not till the following year return to Paris, where he remained unemployed in any thing of consequence, till his services on the important day, called "of the sections," laid the foundation of his future greatness.

* Robespierre was formerly a singing-boy in the cathedral of Arras, and owed his promotion to a post in the law, to the Bishop of Arras, whom he repaid with the blackest ingratitude. He was related to Damiens, the assassin of Lewis XV.

obliged to abandon the whole of the Netherlands, while the victors, without opposition, entered Brussels and Antwerp. Landrecy, Quesnoi, Valenciennes, and Condé were successively retaken; and the French armies, pursuing their course, took Aix-la-Chapelle, defeated Clairfayt near Juliers, and made themselves masters of Cologne and Bonn. Maestricht and Nimeguen were likewise conquered. The United Provinces began now to be seriously alarmed, and the states of Friesland determined to acknowledge the French republic, to break their alliance with England, and to enter into a treaty of peace with France. In December, the French made a feeble attempt to cross the Waal, and were repulsed with loss; but the frost soon after setting in with unusual rigour, the river was frozen over; having crossed it, they attacked the allies, and, according to the report of General Pichegru, "were, as usual, victorious in every quarter." The general attack was made upon Walmoden's position, between Nimeguen and Arnheim; and the allies, alike unprepared for resistance or for flight, suffered equally from the elements and from the enemy. It was in vain that the stadtholder issued manifestoes, proclamations, and exhortations to the Dutch peasantry, conjuring them to rise in a mass for the defence of the country. The French continued to advance, and the allies to flee before them, till Utrecht surrendered to them, on the 10th of January, 1795, and Rotterdam and Dort a few days after. The utmost consternation now prevailed among the partisans of the stadtholder. The Princess of Orange, with the female and younger part of the family, escaped on the 15th, carrying with them all their plate, jewels, &c. The stadtholder and the hereditary prince embarked at Scheveling on the 19th, in an open boat, and arrived safe at Harwich. In England, the palace of Hampton Court was assigned him for his residence. The very day after, Pichegru entered Amsterdam in triumph, and was received by the inhabitants with the loudest acclamations. The whole of the United Provinces either submitted to, or was reduced by the French in a few weeks; and shortly after the government was changed and modelled nearly after the French plan. In the mean time, the King of Prussia, finding he could derive no advantage from the war, began to relax his efforts. The Prussian and Austrian forces, which, as well as their leaders, were on bad terms with each other, began to retreat towards the Rhine, which they soon after passed. A negotiation between Prussia and France followed, which ended in a treaty of peace signed at Basle, in April, 1795, by which his

Prussian majesty entirely abandoned the coalition. The French arms had been equally successful in Spain: after having made themselves masters of the greatest part of the rich provinces of Biscay and Catalonia, the troops were in full march for the capital of the kingdom, when orders were despatched to conclude a treaty with France, which was also signed at Basle, in July, in virtue of which his Catholic majesty ceded all his part of Hispaniola to France, and the Convention restored the recent conquests in Spain.

About the middle of this year, (1795,) died the son of the unfortunate Lewis XVI. He expired in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined since the fatal autumn of 1794. Moved, perhaps, by this event, the Committee of Public Safety proposed the exchange of the princess, his sister, (who was likewise a prisoner in the Temple,) for the deputies delivered up to Austria by Dumouriez, and for two ambassadors, who had been seized by an Austrian corps. The emperor acceded to the proposal, and the exchange was effected. The convention at length set forth the new constitution, called of the year III., by which the government was confided to a legislative body, divided into two elective chambers, and an executive of five persons, to be called the Directory. To insure, at least in part, their own re-election, the members of the Convention declared that two-thirds of the new legislators should be taken from among them. This was violently opposed by the Parisian sections, and a conflict took place on the 5th of October, 1795, between the citizens and the regular troops, in which more than a thousand lives were sacrificed. General Bonaparte sided with the Convention, and, by his skill in the disposal of the artillery, greatly contributed to the discomfiture of the sections. On the motion of Barras, he was named second in command of the army of the interior, as a recompense for his services on this occasion. A few days after, the National Convention resigned its authority to the new legislature, and the directors assumed the reins of the executive government. General Barras being one of the five, the chief command devolved upon Bonaparte, who removed to a magnificent hotel and gave sumptuous entertainments, to which ladies of the first rank were often invited. Among these was the amiable Josephine, widow of Vicomte Beauharnais, who, after having twice presided in the National Convention, perished on the revolutionary scaffold. She had come to Paris to sue for the restoration of his property, which had been confiscated, and Bonaparte often met her at the

house of Barras. To this lady he was united by a civil ceremony before the Paris municipality, in March, 1796. He only remained in Paris twelve days after the nuptials, being appointed commander-in-chief of the army of Italy.

In the course of the preceding year, an expedition had been planned by the English ministry to invade the coast of France, in that part where the royalists (known by the name of Chouans) were in arms against the republic. The force employed, consisted chiefly of emigrants. They landed in the Bay of Quiberon, and took the fort of the same name: but they were soon defeated, and about 10,000 killed or made prisoners. Many of the emigrants were tried and executed; and before April, 1796, the force of the insurgents in this part of France was entirely broken, and their chiefs, Charette and Stofflet, taken prisoners, and put to death. In Germany the French army had crossed the Rhine and blockaded Mentz, but unsuccessfully; and after suffering a defeat from the Austrians, were obliged to repass the river. A suspension of arms for three months, was soon after agreed to by the generals of the contending armies, which was ratified by their respective powers.

CHAPTER XLIII.

PRUSSIA, RUSSIA, SWEDEN, AND ENGLAND, FROM 1793 TO 1798.

CATHERINE II. had never forgiven Poland the Diet of 1788, in which the constitution dictated by force in 1775, was abrogated; the moment of vengeance had now arrived. Her minister at Warsaw had orders to declare war against the Poles, who received the declaration, not merely with firmness, but with a generous enthusiasm. The Russian minister published a manifesto, making known the intention of the empress, to incorporate with her domains all the territory of Poland which her arms had conquered, and her troops, strengthened by the Prussians, poured into that unfortunate country. Frederic William, at the head of his forces, fought against the patriotic General Kosciusko, whose talents and courage were unavailing against multiplied and increasing numbers. The inhuman Suwarrow immediately marched to Warsaw, and, after an obstinate resistance, captured the suburb of Praga, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and entered the city in triumph. It is computed that not fewer than 20,000 persons perished in

this massacre. The courts of Petersburg and Berlin divided the remains of this unhappy country, and the courtiers of Catherine shared among them the possessions of the prescribed, and wished to annihilate even the name of Poland. The Vistula divided Prussia from Austria, and the Bog separated Austria from Russia. Warsaw fell under the dominion of the Prussian monarch, and the Niemen marked the limits between the Russian and Prussian territories. Stanislaus Augustus had a pension allowed him, and was sent to live at Grodno; and the friends of the brave and generous Kosciusko were, with their general, conveyed to Petersburg, and immured in dungeons. They were afterwards liberated on the accession of Paul I., who invited Stanislaus to Petersburg, where he died of an apoplexy, in 1798. From this period (1796) Poland ceased to exist as a kingdom, till, by the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, it recovered its rank, and the title of King of Poland was conferred on the Emperor Alexander. Catherine met with a humiliating disappointment this year, (1796,) in the failure of one of her favourite plans, the marriage of her granddaughter, Alexandra Paulina, with the young King of Sweden, contrary to the established law of that kingdom, which ordained that the queen should conform to the Protestant Church. Gustavus IV. was at Petersburg; every thing was prepared for the ceremony, and only waited his coming, when, discovering that the empress did not intend her daughter to embrace the Lutheran tenets, he broke off the business, and soon after quitted Russia. Catherine sickened at the mortification, her speech faltered, and she had a slight fit. Thirsting for conquest, and inured to the din of war, she turned her arms against Persia. Her army penetrated into Daghestan and laid siege to Derbent, the keys of which were delivered to the general by an old man, who had surrendered that city to Peter I., at the commencement of the century. Having concluded also a new treaty with Austria and Great Britain, the period seemed to her approaching, when she should reign in Constantinople; but having risen on the 10th of November, and transacted business with her secretaries, she was found soon after prostrate on the floor, without sense or motion, and died, after continuing thirty-seven hours in that state, in the sixty-seventh year of her age. The reign of this extraordinary woman appears to have been, for her subjects, rather brilliant than happy. Within the circle of her influence, her government was moderate and benign, but at a distance, terrible and despotic. Justice, order, and law, were sometimes violated under the

protection of her favourites, who exercised, with impunity, the most odious tyranny. She aspired to the character of an author, to which her celebrated "Instructions for a Code of Laws," and various other productions, written in the philosophical spirit of the eighteenth century, seem to entitle her. The generosity of Catherine, the splendour of her court, her institutions, her monuments, and her victories, were to Russia what the age of Lewis XIV. was to France; but the French constituted the glory of Lewis, Catherine that of the Russians. No excuses can be offered for her vices as a *woman*; but as a *sovereign*, posterity will probably allow her the title of *Great*

1796.—On the death of Catherine, her son, Paul Petrowitz ascended the throne. The commencement of his reign gave hopes of a happy continuance, but these beginnings were of no long duration, and he spent most of his time in trifles and ridiculous ceremonials. He ordered the corpse of his father to be taken up, and two of the murderers of the unfortunate czar were fixed upon to officiate as chief mourners, at the funeral service for him and his empress.

In order to oppose France, and re-establish the balance of Europe, he concluded a treaty with the King of England. In the spring of 1799, the Russian army, under Suwarrow, effected a junction with the Austrians, in Italy; and the emperor also declared war against Spain and Holland.

In 1797, died Frederic William II., regretted only by his family and a few friends. He left his finances much deranged, by his profusions and the expenses of the war; and though he had been the first to form a coalition against France, he was the first to abandon it. He was succeeded by his son, Frederic William III.

Among other projects of hostility which the French had meditated against Britain, was the invasion of Ireland; a project which the prevailing civil dissensions seemed likely to favour. During the session of 1793, several laws had passed, in the Irish Parliament, favourable to the Catholics, particularly that by which freeholders were admitted to vote at elections. In 1795 they had been led to expect an entire emancipation; but the bill being brought in by Mr. Grattan, was rejected, and Lord Fitzwilliam recalled to England. As a mark of the national regret, his coach at his departure was drawn by gentlemen dressed in black, from the College Green to the water-side, and the day was observed as one of general mourning. The disaffected party, called the "United Irishmen," had opened a communication with the French Directory,

and a plan of invasion was concerted. The attempt, though it proved abortive, excited a considerable degree of alarm. The French fleet, which had been blocked up in Brest, took the opportunity of a thick fog, to elude the vigilance of the English admiral, and set sail for Ireland; but was dispersed by violent storms. A part of it, however, anchored in Bantry Bay; but the violence of the weather preventing the French from attempting to land, they quitted the coast after a few days; and the inhabitants, who were a good deal alarmed at the appearance of the armament, evinced the most determined loyalty, and manifested the greatest readiness to meet and resist the enemy, wherever he might attempt a descent.

The Prince of Wales was, in April, 1795, married to his cousin, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. Parliament, on this occasion, settled on the prince an annual revenue of £125,000, together with that of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at £13,000; out of this income £73,000 were appropriated to the payment of the prince's debts.

In consequence of the reverses which had attended the arms of the allied powers, warm debates took place in the British cabinet, and peace was earnestly recommended by the leaders of the opposition; but another victory at sea, gained by Lord Bridport, off L'Orient, in 1795, tended to secure the naval superiority of the English. The Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon were also taken by them; and in the following year, Amboyna, Banda, and Demerara fell into their hands. The Spanish and Dutch were grievous sufferers this year, (1797,) in two great naval engagements, which were both equally glorious to the British arms. The first of these memorable actions took place off Cape St. Vincent. It was gained by Sir John Jervis, (afterwards created Earl St. Vincent,) with fifteen sail of the line, over the Spanish fleet of twenty-seven, with the loss of only three hundred men on the side of the British, in killed and wounded. The victory gained by Admiral (afterwards Lord) Duncan, over the Dutch fleet, at Camperdown, was equally complete on the side of the British, but less inglorious to the Dutch. When Admiral Winter's ship struck to the *Venerable*, he was the only man on the quarter-deck, who was not either killed or wounded. The importance of this victory was not then fully known, but it afterwards appeared, that the fleet was designed to assist the French, in their intended invasion of England, for which vast preparations were making in all the ports of France.

The difficulties under which Great Britain laboured, were

further increased in 1797, by the Bank of England suspending payment. The immense sums it had been called upon to advance in cash, for the foreign subsidies, rendered it unable to supply all demands. Mr. Pitt, therefore, obtained an order from the Privy Council, to prohibit the issue of specie from the bank; and a bill soon after passed both Houses of Parliament, to continue and confirm this restriction for a limited time. Two years later, an income tax was imposed, which was fixed at ten *per cent.*, to begin with incomes exceeding sixty pounds *per annum*. This same year, (1799,) died the celebrated Edmund Burke, admired in the British senate as an accomplished orator and an enlightened statesman.

CHAPTER XLIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE WAR FROM 1796, TILL THE PEACE OF AMIENS, 1802.

IN the course of the year 1796, another attempt had been made by the British cabinet, to negotiate a treaty of peace with France; but, as it proved unsuccessful, vigorous preparations were again made for continuing the war. Never did the energy of the British nation display itself more than on this occasion. The campaign opened in the south by the republican troops, under the command of General Bonaparte, and was the commencement of his career of military glory. When he arrived to take the command of the army, he found it almost destitute of common necessities, and acting entirely on the defensive, on the rocky bank of the river Genoa. The French army amounted to only 60,000 men, while that of Austria consisted of 80,000 veterans, besides auxiliaries. Bonaparte harangued his troops, and pointed out their desperate situation, from which nothing but a valorous effort could extricate them. Under this impression he led them against the enemy, and on the 11th of April, at the battle of Montenotte, obtained a complete victory over the Austrians, under General Beaulieu, which was followed within five days by two others of equal importance. The Piedmontese, harassed by repeated defeats, withdrew into the vicinity of Turin, and the King of Sardinia was compelled to purchase peace, by the cession of Savoy and part of Piedmont to France. Bonaparte, at the head of his victorious army, now pursued the retreating Aus-

trians, and advanced by rapid marches towards Milan. The Duke of Parma, like the King of Sardinia, was compelled to sue for peace, which Bonaparte agreed to, on condition of his paying 750,000 livres in specie, besides supplying the French troops with clothing and provisions, and allowing twenty pictures to be chosen out of the gallery of the state, to be sent to Paris. On the 11th of May was fought the memorable battle of Lodi. The French advanced guard attacked and drove in the Austrian outposts, and pursued them full gallop through the town. The Austrian general, Beaulieu, was posted on the other side of the bridge, where, with thirty pieces of cannon, and the whole of his army drawn up in line of battle behind the artillery, he kept up a tremendous fire of round and grape-shot to stop the progress of the French. Bonaparte, seeing there was not a moment to lose, ordered the grenadiers to force the passage of the bridge with the bayonet. This was instantly executed; the Austrians gave way, nor could Beaulieu prevent their fleeing from the field and leaving in the hands of the French all their artillery. Bonaparte now pushed forward with his usual rapidity, giving his enemy no time to rest. On the 12th of May, Pizzghitone surrendered to the French; Cremona yielded without fighting; Pavia also opened her gates; and on the 15th, the French entered the city of Milan. Here they found every thing they stood in need of, and halted a few days to refresh themselves. The castle of Milan, however, still held out for the Emperor of Germany; but Bonaparte, desirous to pursue his conquests, marched from that city, leaving troops enough to form the blockade. On his arrival at Lodi, he was informed that Milan and Pavia had revolted three hours after his departure, and that the tocsin or alarm-bell had been rung throughout Lombardy, to raise the people against him. He immediately proceeded to Pavia, with three hundred cavalry and a battalion of his grenadiers, broke down the gates of the town, instantly ordered the whole of the municipality to be shot, and carried off two hundred of the principal inhabitants as hostages. On the 1st of June, General Massena's division took Verona, and Bonaparte, on the 3d, established his head-quarters there. Meanwhile, the armistice, which had been concluded on the Rhine, was at length declared to be at an end, and the army of the Sambre and the Maese, under General Jourdan, after gaining considerable advantages over the Austrians, advanced into the heart of the empire; while another army, under General Moreau, passed the Rhine at Strasburg, took the fort of Kehl, and

penetrating through Bavaria, nearly to Ratisbon, endeavoured to form a junction with the army of Jourdan. This attempt, however, did not succeed; both armies experienced a reverse of fortune, and were obliged to retreat till they re-crossed the Rhine. The situation of General Moreau was highly critical, and his retreat is acknowledged, on all sides, to have been conducted with great military skill. The Archduke Charles, who commanded the Austrian army, followed Moreau in his retreat, and laid siege to the fort of Kehl, which he took, after a most obstinate resistance on the part of the French. To restore the affairs of Italy, the emperor assembled a new army, composed of the flower of the German troops serving on the Rhine; and gave the command of it to General Wurmser, one of the oldest and ablest of the imperial generals. This force, on its first arrival, was successful; the French were repulsed, defeated, and compelled to raise the siege of Mantua. Bonaparte, however, soon returned to the charge; and after a series of hotly-contested actions, the army of Wurmser was so reduced and harassed, that he was obliged to shut himself up in Mantua, where he was closely besieged by the victors, who, after gaining the battle of Roveredo, and taking possession of Trent, became masters of the passes that led to Vienna. The Austrians, at the same time, made a great effort to rescue the gallant Wurmser and his besieged army; but the battle of Arcole, on the 15th of November, completely defeated their design, and Mantua was at length obliged to surrender, after a siege of six months. The garrison, which consisted of the remains of the Austrian army, under General Wurmser, amounted to 15,000 men, who were made prisoners of war. Bonaparte treated the unfortunate general with great respect, and ordered him to be conducted to Germany, with an escort of Austrian cavalry. The victories of Bonaparte compelled the Pope, the King of Naples, and the inferior princes of Italy, to conclude such treaties as the French thought proper to dictate. By the treaty of Tolentino, signed on the 19th of February, 1797, Pius VI. renounced all claim to Avignon and the country Venaissin, relinquished the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and also surrendered many of the statues and pictures which had acquired so high a celebrity to Rome.

In the mean time, after the taking of Mantua, Bonaparte penetrated into the Tyrol, and directed his course towards the imperial capital. The Archduke Charles opposed him, but was unable to check his progress. The republican armies

had at length advanced so near to Vienna, that the utmost alarm and confusion prevailed in that city: the bank suspended its payments, and the emperor was preparing to forsake his capital and remove to Olmutz. In this critical situation of affairs, his imperial majesty opened a negotiation with Bonaparte; a short armistice was agreed to, and the preliminaries of peace between the emperor and the French were signed at Leoben, in April, 1797, by which the emperor renounced his right to the Austrian Netherlands, and acknowledged the French Republic. Bonaparte had, previously to his quitting Italy, established the Cisalpine Republic, to which he united Modena, Reggio, Massa, and Carrara. Its independence was acknowledged and proclaimed on the 2d of July. A revolution was effected at Genoa, in the month of May, the same year: the people, after taking possession of the arsenal, set up a democratical form of government, under the name of the Ligurian republic. The ancient republic of Venice, about the same time, fell under the dominion of France. A tumult having suddenly taken place, in which a number of the French soldiers were murdered in the hospitals of that city, the French armies, on their return, abolished the ancient ducal government, planted the tree of liberty in St. Mark's place, established a municipality, and proposed to annex the city and territory to the new Cisalpine Republic. The definitive treaty between France and the emperor was signed at Campo Formio, on the 17th of October, 1797. By it the emperor ceded to France the whole of the Netherlands and all his former territory in Italy. He received, in return, the city of Venice, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian islands in the Adriatic: the French were to possess the other Venetian islands.

While the negotiation which terminated in this treaty was carrying on, the disputes between the majority of the Directory and the Legislative Chambers were producing new scenes of violence in France. The deputies composing the council of five hundred, who had acquired this year a considerable increase in power, censured and opposed several of the measures pursued by the Directory, and the laws against priests and emigrants were relaxed. But unfortunately the army of Italy took part with the Directory; and while the conduct of the opposite party was slow and irresolute, Barras resolved on a prompt and violent measure, which effectually decided the contest. Having secured the co-operation of a sufficient body of troops, under the command of Augereau, whom Bonaparte had sent to Paris for that purpose, he caused

the acts in favour of nonjuring priests and emigrants to be rescinded; while fifty-four members of the two councils were arrested and condemned to imprisonment or exile. Among the proscribed were included the Director Barthélémy and General Pichegru, who, with many others, were transported to Cayenne, whence they afterwards found means to return to Europe.*

The power of the Directory being now absolute, (1798,) they projected new schemes of ambition and conquest, in order to give employment to the armies, and afford them an opportunity of enriching themselves by plunder. They found a pretext to invade and conquer Switzerland; levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants; changed the form, and even the name of the republic into that of the Helvetic Republic, after dismembering from it the bishopric of Basle, which France retained for herself.

Our attention must now again be directed to the unfortunate situation of Ireland, where, irritated by injustice and oppression, the malcontents resolved to try the fortune of war. A general insurrection was concerted; the castle of Dublin, the camp in the neighbourhood, and the artillery, were to be simultaneously seized by night, but the plans of the conspirators were defeated. Government having received precise information, caused fourteen of the delegates to be seized in Dublin. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who was one of the number, made an obstinate resistance, and shot one of the officers appointed to arrest him; the wounds he himself received were so severe as to cause his death. No resource now remaining to the rebels but open force, they assembled to the number of 15,000, and succeeded in taking Enniscorthy and Wexford. Several actions ensued with various success, till at length General Lake, having assembled a large body of forces, attacked the main body of the insurgents on Vinegar Hill, and after an obstinate contest, totally defeated them, in June, 1798.

It was fortunate for the British empire that, during this alarming crisis, the French government neglected to pursue the plan laid out for them by Lord Edward Fitzgerald and others of the rebels, and delayed sending any succour to the insurgents till the month of August, when a small force, under

* That there existed at this time a strong party in the Chambers favourable to the restoration, is proved by the fact of Louis XVIII. sending, in 1824, letters of nobility to all the then surviving members who were arrested on this occasion.

General Humbert, landed at Killala. The general entered the bay under English colours, and at the head of about 300 men advanced, in the evening, towards the town. Intelligence was immediately sent off to Ballina, and the yeomanry drew up to meet the French advanced guard, but, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to yield. Leaving Killala in the possession of 200 men, Humbert pushed forward and took possession of Ballina; he was there joined by several hundreds of insurgents, to whom he distributed arms and uniforms. The king's forces retreated in disorder to Tuam, about forty miles from the scene of action. The Marquis Cornwallis, who had succeeded Lord Camden as viceroy, determined to march in person against the invader. He proceeded on the road to Castlebar, but before he arrived there, he received intelligence that the enemy had abandoned that post, had marched to Foxford, and was joined by multitudes of the Irish peasantry. The advanced guard of the French was opposed on the 5th of September by Col. Vereker, who had hastened from Sligo with a small detachment of infantry; but who, after a smart action of an hour's continuance, was forced to retreat with his little army to Ballyshannon, whither he was closely followed by the troops of Col. Crawford and General Lake; while Lord Cornwallis, with the grand army, marched into the county of Longford, in order to intercept the enemy in his way to Granard. Thus surrounded, Humbert was compelled to surrender; the Irish auxiliaries, who had accompanied the French into the field, were excluded from quarter; and about five hundred of them were slain. The town of Killala was recovered by a larger body of troops, under the command of Major-General French. With the conquest and retreat of this French army, ended the rebellion of 1798. No certain estimate can be made of the number of those who lost their lives in this unfortunate contest; but the accounts received in the war-office make the number of the military who perished in it amount to 19,700; and it is believed that the loss of the Irish exceeded 50,000 men.

The Congress of Radstadt assembled in January, 1798, to settle the disputes between France and the Germanic Empire. While the discussions were spun out to an immoderate length, an event occurred in Italy, which endangered the temporal sovereignty of the See of Rome. Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador in the papal capital, had long fomented disturbances among the populace, who, at length, became so mutinous that a small detachment of the papal troops was one

day called out to suppress a sedition, and, in a contest which ensued, an individual who had used the most inflammatory language, and who proved to be the French General Duphot, was slain. On pretence of revenging this insult to the national honour of the republic, General Berthier invaded the Roman territory, which he entered with a formidable army. The Castle of St. Angelo, in which the Pope and the majority of the Cardinals had sought shelter, surrendered on the first summons, and the tree of liberty was planted by the populace in front of the capitol. The Roman republic having been proclaimed, General Berthier made his public entry into the city. On that day, the cardinal ministers resigned the government of the Roman state, several having previously fled, among whom were the Cardinals Albani and York; and solemn thanks were offered in the principal churches on account of this revolution. The Pope submitted to this change in his fortune, with uncommon resignation. When informed, that the people having assumed the sovereignty, his reign was at an end, he appeared solely anxious about his spiritual dignity; and being told that this remained inviolate, together with his person, he expressed himself contented. He was soon after forced to retire to Sienna, as his presence was thought dangerous at Rome, and was received there by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with all the respect due to his dignity and his misfortunes. But for fear of irritating the French, he was ordered to remain incognito in the environs of that city, and the clergy were forbidden to give any demonstration of the interest which they took in his altered fortune. The extortions and depredations of the French officers, and the insurrections of the adherents to the Popedom, now rendered Rome a scene of wretchedness and desolation. Pius was still dreaded and persecuted by the French; he was deserted even by the principal Catholic princes; and grief brought on a dangerous illness. The sufferings of a sovereign, dignified by his rank among the princes of Christendom, venerable by his great age, and by the patience with which he bore his misfortunes, rendered him an object of respectful attention to Europe. Both Catholics and Protestants united in commiserating his condition, and in reprobating the unfeeling severity of an un pitying conqueror.

The Egyptian expedition, having been planned by Bonaparte, with the consent of the French Directory, the armament sailed from Toulon, on the 20th of May, 1798. The first enterprise was an attack upon the Island of Malta, which sur-

rendered after a feeble opposition; it was suspected to have been won rather by treachery than by force. However that may be, the standard of the order was taken, and the town given up to the French. To preserve this celebrated order, which had subsisted seven hundred years, and defended many of the European thrones against the Ottomans and pirates, the title of Grand-master was conferred on Paul I., Emperor of Russia, who became the protector of the order and assumed the decoration of its sovereign.

Scarcely had Malta capitulated, than Admiral Nelson entered the Mediterranean with seventeen ships of the line to pursue the French fleet. It however escaped; and the troops having been landed at Alexandria, took that city by assault, with but a trifling loss on the part of the French. After several actions, in which the Mamelukes and their followers were constantly defeated, the battle of the Pyramids rendered the French masters of the country, and Bonaparte made his entry into Grand Cairo, which opened to him its gates. To attach the inhabitants to his interest, it has been asserted that he professed himself a convert to the doctrines of Mahomet, and with the officers of his staff, assisted at the religious worship of the Mussulmans. The conquest of Egypt now seemed complete, when the expedition received a terrible blow, in the destruction of the fleet, which lay at anchor off Aboukir, and consisted of thirteen ships of the line and four frigates. Admiral Nelson, who was in active pursuit of them, arrived in the road of Aboukir on the 1st of August. Though the French fleet was anchored as near the coast as possible, Nelson, by a bold manœuvre, brought his ships, with the exception of one, between the enemy's vessels and the land. The action commenced at sun-set, and continued with unabating fury till nine o'clock, when the *Orient*, commanded by the French Admiral Bruix, caught fire and blew up. The combat was not suspended until noon of the succeeding day, when the victory was decisive in favour of the British, who captured nine ships and burned another.* This triumph was followed by a new confederation against France, on which, and the subsequent operations, it had a marked influence: it also rendered the British masters of the Mediterranean. The intention of the French in their expedition to Egypt, was to open a communication, by which they might co-operate with the enemies of Great Britain in India. About the time, however, that they effected their landing in Egypt, Tippoo Saib

* This action is called the Battle of the Nile.

lost his life and dominions, in a war of short duration, but highly advantageous to the English. The active operations of the army were conducted by General Harris, who besieged and took Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo's dominions; which, with the fortress and island, and part of the late sultan's territories, was united to the British possessions. His body was found among the slain, and interred with suitable honour.

Bonaparte, in the mean time, retained possession of Egypt, and in order to secure his conquests, advanced into Syria, February 9th, 1799. The expedition commenced with the siege of El-Arych, one of the keys of the Egyptian frontiers; it was protected by a camp of Mamelukes, who were defeated by General Kleber, and the city surrendered, after a siege of eleven days. The victorious army then advanced towards Jaffa. Gaza submitted to them on their route, but Jaffa was strongly garrisoned, and when summoned to surrender, some of the soldiers struck off the head of the officer who carried the flag of truce, and fixed it on a pole, in sight of the French army. The town was then carried by storm, after a dreadful carnage. Among the prisoners were found many of the inhabitants of the mountains and of Nazareth, who had been released after the siege of El-Arych, on condition of returning to their respective homes. These men were, by Bonaparte's order, on the following morning, drawn out to the number of five hundred, on a rising ground near Jaffa, and fired upon by a division of French infantry.* These successes achieved, the French army formed the siege of St. John D'Acre; but after succeeding in dispersing the Mussulmans assembled on Mount Thabor, and spending sixty days before the place, they were obliged to raise the siege by an English squadron, under Sir Sydney Smith, who, acting in concert with the Turks, compelled Bonaparte to retreat, with the remains of his army, into Egypt. From thence he took an opportunity to escape to France, where he became the author of a new revolution in the government.

The Turks declared war against France, in September,

* This account of the murder near Jaffa, was given by Napoleon himself, to Mr. Warden, Surgeon, on board the Northumberland, during Bonaparte's voyage to St. Helena. Mr. O'Meara, who states the same fact, makes the number of these unfortunate victims, thus wantonly murdered in cold blood, amount to 12,000. The charge of his having poisoned his sick soldiers at Jaffa, Bonaparte absolutely denied. Bourrienne asserts it to be true, with some extenuating circumstances.

1798, and the Emperor of Russia, with the same view, made formidable preparations by sea and land. The Neapolitan troops entered the papal territory to attack the French, but were defeated at Civita Castellana by the republican General Championet, who forced them to evacuate Rome, of which they had taken possession. After various successes gained by the Generals Duchesne, Macdonald, Rey, and Lemoine, the French established their head-quarters at Santo Germano, but were soon after repulsed near Capua. The Neapolitans quickly rallied, and made themselves masters of the positions near Teano, while San Germano revolted from the French. At this critical period, Prince Pignatelli was despatched by General Mack, the viceroy, with powers to conclude an armistice with Championet, on any terms, provided Naples remained subject to its king. The offer was accepted; but the conditions, though highly advantageous to France, were disapproved of by the French Directory. The suspension of arms occasioned equal dissatisfaction at Naples: the Lazzaroni took possession of the arsenal and fort, and chose Prince Militeri for their chief. General Mack, in order to save himself from the fury of the populace, surrendered himself a prisoner to the French.

In January, 1799, the Lazzaroni attacked the French army, but were defeated and driven back into the town. Exposed to any invasion by sea, without fortifications on the side of the land, and abandoned by its sovereign, Naples was defended for three days by 30,000 Lazzaroni, who performed prodigies of valour, fighting in the streets, amidst the spreading flames which consumed the edifices. At last, after torrents of blood had been spilt on both sides, the French colours were hoisted on the new castle and on fort St. Elme. Championet, for the humanity he displayed on this occasion, would have been rewarded with a civic crown by ancient Rome, but the Directory of Paris denounced him before a council of war: fortunately for this general, a change in the government taking place during his trial, he was not only saved, but the command of the army of the Alps and of that of Italy was conferred upon him. Meantime the King of Sardinia was reduced to the humiliating necessity of abdicating the government of Piedmont, to avoid being taken prisoner. In December, 1798, he concluded an armistice with the French General Joubert, and retired into Sardinia; the tri-coloured flag was displayed at Turin, and Piedmont fell under the dominion of France. Shortly after, the French entered Lucca, which abolished the aristocratical,

and assumed a popular form of government. On the other side, Minorca was taken by the British, commanded by General Stuart. In Germany, (1798,) the campaign was opened by the defeat of the French General Jourdan. A treaty having been entered into between Great Britain and Russia, the troops of the latter nation took the field. The dissolution of the congress of Rastadt was marked by the assassination of two of the French ministers. A strange mystery still hangs over that event. In their progress through Italy, the French made themselves masters of Tuscany, but were checked in their career by the Imperialists, who obtained an advantage over them in two actions at Verona. The Russian General Suwarrow was so successful in his operations, that the allies were enabled to enter Milan. The French now evacuated the Roman and Neapolitan territories; the disasters which had befallen their Generals Moreau and Macdonald, brought about a counter-revolution in Tuscany, which abolished its democratic form of government. Modena was captured by the French, who were attacked and defeated by the allies in three actions on the banks of the Trebbia. In consequence of these defeats, the cities of Turin and Bologna fell into their hands, and the surrender of the French garrisons of Alexandria and Mantua followed. In the month of August, Holland was invaded by an Anglo-Russian army. The first expedition sent thither, was commanded by the gallant Abercrombie, who was no sooner landed, than the Dutch evacuated the Helder. The British and Russian troops, who had penetrated into the country, were attacked a few days after, by the combined forces of France and Holland, which they repulsed. The second expedition, commanded by the Duke of York, reached Holland about the middle of September. After several actions, which were fought with doubtful success, the country being found to be no longer tenable, and the invading army having been disappointed in its expectations of being joined by the majority of the Dutch; a negotiation was entered into with the French General Brune, in consequence of which, the combined English and Russian army evacuated the Batavian territory. In the following year, (1799,) the aged father of the Catholic Church was torn from his retirement by the French, who now yielded to the triumphant arms of Suwarrow, and was carried by them into Valence: as he passed thither, through Dauphiné, he was everywhere received by multitudes of people, with sentiments of sympathy, respect, and veneration. After an indisposition of several

days, he expired at Valence, August 19th, in the eighty-second year of his age. By order of the French government, unslacked lime was thrown into the grave to consume his body.*

In the view of our domestic concerns, every other consideration was, for the present, absorbed in the question of a legislative union with Ireland. Some preliminary discussion was introduced in a debate in the English House of Commons on the 23d of January, 1799, and the question was more formally and amply discussed in the Irish Parliament, which was opened on the 22d with a speech from the lord lieutenant, indirectly announcing the measure. The union bill was carried in the House of Lords without a division; and in the House of Commons by a majority of sixty—the ayes being one hundred and sixty, and the noes one hundred. The summary of its enactments was, that on the 1st of January, 1801, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland should be united in one; that the succession to the imperial crown of these realms should continue limited and settled according to existing laws; that Ireland should be represented in the Imperial Parliament by twenty-eight lords temporal elected for life, four lords spiritual taking their places by rotation, and one hundred commoners; that in trade, navigation, and commerce in general, the people of England and of Ireland should possess equal rights and advantages; that the public debt incurred by either kingdom previous to the union, and the sinking fund for its reduction, should continue to be separately defrayed by each kingdom respectively, in the proportion of fifteen parts for Great Britain and two for Ireland, &c. Disunion and dissension, in the mean time, distracted the British councils. The subject of Catholic emancipation, which occasioned a division in her cabinet, was said, by the party who resigned, to be necessary to complete and give effect to the measures of the Irish union; which, without extending the benefit of full freedom to the Catholics, would be a lifeless measure. Finding it impossible at present to attain this object, to which they attached so much importance, they did not think it consistent with the duty they owed their country, any longer to maintain responsible situations in his majesty's councils. Mr. Pitt, therefore, and his colleagues, determined to give in their resignations, as soon as the state of the public business would allow. The

* Dr. Mavor.

The illustrious General Washington died this year, (1799,) at Mount Vernon, aged sixty-seven.

expenses of England this year amounted to £41,000,000 : and a scarcity of corn greatly augmented the general distress.

The conduct of the directorial government of France had been marked from its earliest establishment by a system of rapine and fraud, which had brought France to the eve of a civil war. The forced loan, and the iniquitous law which seized on the persons and confiscated the property of the relations of emigrants, had completed the wretchedness of the subjugated French ; when a sudden revolution, effected by Bonaparte, the 9th of November, 1799, overturned the Directory, and set up the Consular government, at the head of which he placed himself. Cambacérès was second consul, and Lebrun the third. A senate was composed of eighty members, a tribunal of one hundred, and a legislative body, which was not permanent, of three hundred. Bonaparte's first measure was an ineffectual attempt to treat with Great Britain. In the pacification of La Vendée he was more successful. Relatively to Egypt, the treaty of El-Arych, by which the French consented to evacuate that country, was not acceded to by the British ministry. Meantime, General Suwarrow, who in five months had gained as many pitched battles, made himself master of the strongest places in the north of Italy ; but the battle of Novi, fought on the 16th of August, was the greatest triumph of this celebrated general. In it, the French commander, General Joubert, was slain ; and of all the conquests the French had made in Italy, Genoa alone remained to them, which was now blockaded by Lord Nelson, and ready to yield to the horrors of famine. But Suwarrow, having with difficulty passed Mount St. Gothard, in order to join General Korsakoff in Switzerland, was defeated by Massena, and retired into the Tyrol. His defeat was followed by that of Korsakoff, and by the death of the Austrian General Holzs, which obliged him to seek safety by flight. The events we have related in Italy, afforded an opportunity to the cardinals to meet for the election of a Pope. The conclave was held under the auspices of the Emperor of Germany, at Venice, in March, 1800. The ecclesiastic honoured with the pontificate, was Cardinal di Chiaramonti, a man of good sense, exemplary virtue, and unassuming manners. As it is customary for the new pontiff to assume the name of the Pope who had promoted him to the dignity of cardinal, Chiaramonti took that of Pius VII. The emperor, on his election, presented him with a sum of money, and soon after delivered up to him the greater part of the ecclesiastical state. Pius VII. took possession of

the see of Rome in July, and began to exercise the sovereignty with great dignity and moderation: he was soon after acknowledged by the French. They appointed as minister plenipotentiary, M. Cacault, whose conciliating disposition smoothed many of the difficulties that occurred in the negotiations between the republic and the holy see. The Austrian General Melas, having entered Italy in April, possessed himself of Savona and Vada, which separated Genoa from the French army; and the latter, under Massena, sustained a considerable loss at Fontana Buona, while the imperialists took possession of Mount Cenis, and repulsed Massena on his attempting to leave Genoa: famine at length compelled him to surrender the town on honourable terms. The first consul soon after left Paris, to take the command of the army of reserve intended to retrieve the affairs of the French in Italy. He passed Mount St. Bernard on the 7th of May, and on the same day, three divisions of the French army, under Moreau, penetrated Italy by Switzerland. Bonaparte entered Milan on the 4th of June; and this step was followed by the battle of Montebello, gained on the 9th, and by that of Marengo, which on the 14th decided the fate of Italy. General Melas had disputed the field against the French with obstinate courage, and had thrice forced them to fall back and retreat, when General Dessaix came up, and decided the victory in favour of the republicans. The army rallied and returned to the charge with such uncommon bravery and resolution, that the Austrians were all routed: the slaughter was dreadful, nor did it cease till night had veiled the scene of carnage. It was ten o'clock when Bonaparte quitted the field victorious; but the French lost one of their best generals, Dessaix, who fell at the moment of victory. The Austrians next day requested an armistice, which was granted: eight fortified towns were successively given up by them to the French, and they retired to Mantua. Bonaparte having ordered the demolition of all the fortresses in the Milanese and Piedmontese, departed with General Berthier and his staff for Milan, where he established the Cisalpine Republic, and assisted at a solemn *Te Deum* in the cathedral church. He also re-organized the celebrated university of Pavia, which had been closed since the invasion of the combined powers in 1799, leaving to General Massena the command of the army. On the 2d of July, he re-entered Paris, having in fifty-eight days completed a second time the conquest of Italy. Besides the disasters which had attended the arms of Austria in Italy, other losses

compelled her to sue for peace. The preceding campaign had been attended with very ill success; and the memorable battle of Hohenlinden, gained by General Moreau over the Archduke John, in December, 1800, covered that commander with laurels, while General Augereau defeated the imperialists at Nuremberg. These victories brought on the definitive treaty of peace between France and Austria, which was signed at Luneville in February, 1801. By this treaty, the cession of the Belgic provinces, which had been made to France at the treaty of Campo-Formio, was renewed, and Austria relinquished all that she possessed on the left bank of the Rhine.

The fort and island of Goree surrendered this year to a small British squadron; in the month of September the island of Malta passed under the domination of Great Britain, after having been blockaded during two years; and the Dutch settlement of Curaçoa was taken in the same month from the French, who had conquered it. Two expeditions to the coast of Spain, one against Ferrol, the other against Cadiz, terminated unsuccessfully. A convention for an armed neutrality, directed against Great Britain, was entered into by Russia and Sweden, and afterwards acceded to by Prussia and Denmark. In return, an embargo was laid at the close of the month of January, 1801, on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish ships, in the ports of Great Britain. To exclude the British vessels from the navigation of the Elbe, the Danes resorted to the measure of the temporary possession of Ham-burgh, at the same time that the Prussians seized on Hanover. These hostile proceedings gave rise to the battle of Copenhagen; Lord Nelson, with twelve ships of the line, attacked the Danish fleet, (April 2d,) which was defended by formidable batteries. The action was continued with unabating severity for four hours, until, at length, the British admiral, to spare the further effusion of blood, proposed an armistice, which was acceded to by the Danes, only when all their ships, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, were sunk or captured. The Emperor Paul died before he could execute the vast and angry projects he had conceived against England; he was found dead in his bed on the 22d of March, having been carried off by an apoplectic fit, as it was expressed in the proclamation made on the following day, which announced the accession of his son Alexander to the throne.* The Swedes next seceded from the northern alliance, and shortly

* The violent temper of Paul created him many enemies, and he is supposed to have been strangled.

after a convention was signed between Great Britain and Russia.

War was proclaimed by Spain against Portugal, in the month of February, 1801; and in the following April, a Spanish army, headed by the Prince of Peace, invaded the Portuguese territory, and reduced all the fortified places in the province of Alentejo. By the treaty of peace which followed between the two powers in June, Spain obtained the province of Olivenza; the Guadiana was made the boundary between the two kingdoms, and the ports of Portugal were closed against England. By a convention concluded between France and Spain in the month of March, the states of the Infant Don Lewis, Duke of Parma, were placed at the disposition of France, and Tuscany was ceded to the infante, with the title of King of Etruria. In the month of August following, the king and queen made their entrance into Florence. Naples shortly after made peace with France. The treaty of friendship between the French republic and the Elector of Bavaria was concluded in August: the latter renounced by it all claim to his ancient possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. Russia soon adopted the same measure; and on the 9th of October, the preliminaries of peace between France and Turkey were signed, by which Russia and France guarantied to the Ottoman Porte the republic of the Seven Islands, and the navigation of the Black Sea was secured to the French flag.

The British expedition against Egypt reached its destination at the commencement of March, and a part of the army of reserve, commanded by Major-general Moore, landed on the 8th of that month. The whole of the troops having been afterwards landed, moved forward on the 12th; and, on the following day, the French were brought to action, and forced to retreat. The castle of Aboukir surrendered to the English on the 18th, and on the 21st was fought the ever-memorable contest, which gave a new lustre to the British arms, but in which the gallant veteran and commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, fell. The loss of the French in the battle of Aboukir has been calculated at 3,000 men, with many of their principal officers. That of the victors amounted to about thirteen hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. The capture of several inferior posts was followed by the surrender of the cities of Cairo and Alexandria to the British, and these successes led to the evacuation of Egypt by the French. This event and the brilliant victories gained by Great Britain in the naval campaign of 1801, led to negotia-

tions for peace between that power and France. By the definitive treaty of Amiens, which was signed on the 27th of March, 1802, Great Britain ceded all the possessions and colonies she had acquired during the war, with the exception of the Spanish Island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon.

The authors who debased their talents by promoting the progress of irreligion and impiety in France, during the middle of the last century, have been already noticed. The two Daciers were celebrated for their translations from the Greek and Latin authors, and for their commentaries upon them. M. Dacier belongs properly to the preceding century: Madame Dacier died in 1720. The learned Benedictine monk, Calmet, who is noted for his commentaries on the Holy Scriptures and other works, died in 1767. In England, Doctor Samuel Johnson, whose efforts to arrest the revolutionary principles of the age, in his *Rambler* and *Idler*, recommended him to the personal notice and patronage of his sovereign, and who is noted for his philological learning, died in 1785. Oliver Goldsmith, a poet, and the compiler of many different works for youth: Young and Cowper, both moral poets, deserve remembrance. Hume, Robertson, and Gibbons, historians; whose talents, however, did not raise them above the prejudices of their nation and age, and whose writings cannot, therefore, be recommended to those who seek for truth, the first quality of an historian. Italy during this century gave birth to Metastasio, who was poet laureat to the Emperor Charles VI., and died in 1782. Germany boasts of Klopstock, the author of the "Messiah." In music, too, the first composers and performers were all of that nation. Handel, patronised by George III., may be almost said to belong to England, where he composed his celebrated oratorios; Hamal died in 1778, Mozart in 1792. Haydn and Beethoven were still living at this period. Painting is indebted to the same sovereign for the rapid progress it made in this island during his reign. George III. founded the Royal Academy in London, for the advancement of this art, as well as of engraving, sculpture, and architecture; and the names of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Sir Thomas Lawrence, portrait-painters, and of Benjamin West, historical painter, stand pre-eminent. His majesty also erected the Royal Institution in 1800, the grand object of which is, to render modern improvements applicable to the conveniences of mankind. Its reputation was at that time enhanced by the discoveries of Sir Humphry Davy in chymistry.

CHAPTER XLV.

STATE OF EUROPE IN GENERAL, AND THAT OF ENGLAND IN PARTICULAR, FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE RENEWAL OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

1802.—A SHORT interval of nominal peace, but not of general tranquillity, followed the ratification of the treaty of Amiens. On the continent of Europe, in the British dominions, and in the West Indies, such events took place during this interval, as oblige the historian still to tell of war, and treason, and their attendant miseries.

Bonaparte tried to consolidate, during peace, the glory which he had acquired in war, and his efforts were not unsuccessful. The office of first consul for life, with permission to appoint his successor, was conferred upon him. He was empowered to nominate the senate, to interpret all the articles of the constitution, to suspend the functions of juries, and to appoint the consuls. The members of the grand council of the Legion of Honour* were named members of the senate. The presidency of the tribunal of ultimate appeal, and a power of censure over all the other tribunals, were given to a grand judge of Bonaparte's nomination. The unlimited confidence reposed by the French nation in their new ruler, seemed in a great measure justified by the anxiety with which, after the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, he consulted and gratified their interests and wishes.

The revival of the arts, the improvement of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, plans of education, the remodelling and repairing of bridges, canals, and highways, alternately occupied his attention. Finding that the re-establishment of religion was desired by the nation at large, he concluded a Convention, usually called the *Concordat*, with the Pope, by which the Catholic religion was declared to be that of the great majority of Frenchmen; it stipulated that a new circumscription should be made of the French bishoprics, and for this end demanded from the ancient bishops of France the resignation of their sees, a sacrifice which his holiness firmly

* The Legion of Honour was a military order of nobility. It consisted of fifteen cohorts and a council of administration. The first consul was chief of the legion and of the council, and Joseph Bonaparte was grand-master of the order.

expected they would make for the sake of peace and unity.* The Concordat also provided that the right of nomination to ecclesiastical sees should be exercised by the first consul, and that of canonical institution by the Pope; that the intruded constitutional bishops should not be selected, unless they first made their submission, according to the form prescribed by the Pope to his legate, Cardinal Caprara;† that the bishops should swear allegiance to the government, which should pay them and the inferior clergy an annual stipend; that none but native Frenchmen should officiate as ministers of religion in France; that these ministers should have no connection with foreign powers; and that the professors, in all seminaries, should be chosen by the chief consul. The final ratification of the Concordat was announced by proclamation, on the 17th of April, and the event solemnly celebrated in the church of Notre Dame.‡ In the same month was published a decree of amnesty, by which the emigrants, with several exceptions, were permitted to return to France, and such part of their

* In reply to this demand, thirty bishops sent in their resignation; thirty-eight refused it.

† Several constitutional bishops evaded this command, and with the Concordat were published *organic laws*, which had not been approved of by the legate.

‡ Bonaparte is said to have conceived the first idea of a Concordat, on the battle-field of Marengo; though he had long before been heard to exclaim, alluding to the Pope and cardinals—"Why do they not treat with me? I am the best friend of Rome." He complained much, however, of what he called the *useless delays* of the Court of Rome, and wished to introduce into ecclesiastical affairs that celerity which distinguished his military operations. Finding the Pope's legate in Paris slow in bringing the affair to a conclusion, he wrote to the minister, Cacault, desiring him to demand imperatively a Concordat, within three days, and enjoining him to quit Rome in case of noncompliance. Cacault, who knew more about ecclesiastical affairs than the first consul, persuaded Cardinal Consalvi to undertake a journey to Paris, and make arrangements with Bonaparte in person: while, according to his instructions, he himself withdrew to Florence, leaving, however, his secretary in Rome, so that the official relations remained uninterrupted. The genius and conciliating manners of the cardinal disarmed the rising indignation of the first consul, who approved of what had been done, and the Concordat was promulgated in April. About this time, Talleyrand, at his own request, received from Rome a brief, dispensing with the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, and allowing him to reassume the secular habit. It was not signed by the Pope, though his holiness was aware of its being expedited; nor did it empower the ex-Bishop of Autun to marry; and when the Pope, at a later period, visited Paris, he particularly stipulated that Madame de Talleyrand should not be presented to him.

goods and possessions as still remained unsold was restored to them.

One of the first objects that fixed the attention of the French government, after it had signed the definite treaty with England, was the recovery of the revolted colony of St. Domingo. As early as the month of December, 1801, a large force put to sea for this service. The French troops were commanded by Le Clerc, Latouche, and Rochambeau; the insurgents, by Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe. After many rencounters and massacres, marked, on the part of the French, by a degree of cruelty which reflects disgrace on civilized society, Christophe, Dessalines, and Toussaint, hopeless of gaining any permanent advantage over the superior forces of their opponents, acknowledged the sovereignty of France. Toussaint retired, with the permission of the French generals, to his estate at Gonaive, where he purposed to spend the remainder of his days, and to forget the horrors of warfare, in the seclusion of domestic life. But this happiness was denied him by his conquerors. Le Clerc surrounded his house in the dead of the night, took him and his family prisoners, and had them conveyed to France. There Toussaint, whose character, at once humane and warlike, had won the admiration even of his enemies, was immured and terminated his career in a loathsome dungeon. The act of treachery was, in itself, a sufficient incentive to rouse the Haïtians to a renewal of war. They were farther exasperated by a decree of the French legislative body, abrogating an enactment of the national assembly, which had declared slavery in the colonies abolished. Dessalines and Christophe again assembled the insurgent bands, and resolved to exterminate their oppressors or die in the attempt. The French, unawed by the new insurrection, abated none of their accustomed cruelty. But Providence visited back upon the perpetrators of these wanton acts, part of the miseries they created. A pestilential disease, caused by the putrefaction of their victims, raged violently in the French camp; Le Clerc himself fell a victim to it. Before his death, which took place in October, Port-au-Paix, Fort Dauphin, and many other places, were lost to the French.

Rochambeau, who succeeded Le Clerc in the chief command, imitated him in cruelty, and inherited his ill-fortune. In the first engagement of importance, after his appointment, the French were defeated; and though General Clausel partially retrieved the glory of the French arms, yet success still preponderated on the side of the insurgents, and their per-

severing bravery awakened the apprehensions of the mother-country, for the total loss of her colony.

1802.—It was not in the West Indies alone that the horrors of war were felt; Switzerland had again become the theatre of contending armies. Its inhabitants, still dissatisfied with their new form of government, took up arms to effect a counter-revolution, and appointed Aloys Reding their chief. The contest between the patriots, or friends of the old order of things, and the supporters of the government, was maintained for some time with various success. Zurich was taken by Andermatt, the French general; Friburg, Berne, and Soleure, by the insurgents. Both parties, with equal urgency, solicited the interference of France in their behalf. The capture of Berne was followed by a suspension of arms. On the renewal of hostilities, success still attended the exertions of the patriots. Their main attack was directed against Lausanne, the seat of the Helvetic government. Apprehending the reduction of the city, the government was preparing to remove to Geneva, when their fears were calmed and their flight prevented, by the opportune arrival of citizen Rapp, with an offer, in form of a proclamation, from the first consul, to mediate between the contending parties. The diet, convinced by the entry of General Ney with 30,000 men into the Swiss territory that resistance to the will of Bonaparte would prove unavailing, accepted his proffered mediation, and dissolved itself. The Swiss troops were disbanded, and the subjection of Switzerland to the influence of France completed, by the appointment of deputies from the cantons to meet at Paris and arrange, by negotiation, the differences of their constituents. When these deputies assembled, a letter from the first consul told them, that to tranquillize Switzerland, the enforcement of three preliminary points was necessary: a general equality of rights among all her cantons, a federative organization for each, and a renunciation of all aristocratic privileges. Thus a new constitution was given to Switzerland; it was divided into eighteen cantons, and the Helvetic troops passed into the service of France.

The daily extension of Bonaparte's power, and particularly his having, within the year, added Piedmont and Parma to France, caused much uneasiness to the Emperor Francis, and rendered him unwilling to submit to the German indemnities, and the secularization of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, guaranteed by the treaty of Luneville. The first consul, however, little regarding the objections urged by him, opened negotia-

tions at Paris, for the arrangement of the indemnities, and, assisted by the Emperor of Russia, drew up a plan, which, notwithstanding strong remonstrances from the Emperor Francis, met the approval of the Diet of Ratisbon. To the Elector of Mentz were given the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar: to the King of Great Britain, the bishopric of Osnaberg, in compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter, and for the renunciation of his rights over Bremen and Hamburg: to the Prince of Orange, the bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund, for his surrender of the stadtholderate, and of other claims in Holland and Belgium. The Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made electors. The Emperor Francis, finding the influence of France to predominate in the diet, gave a reluctant consent to these arrangements.

B. Maria Clotilda, Queen of Sardinia, died at Naples, March 7th, 1802. Three months after her death, Charles-Emmanuel IV. abdicated in favour of his brother, the Duke of Aoste, who took the name of Victor Emmanuel V. Benevento and Ponto Corvo were, the same year, restored to the Holy See.

In England, a conspiracy, having for its object the assassination of the king, was planned by a Colonel Despard, and twenty-nine associates; it was discovered, and the author, with six of his accomplices, expiated his guilt on the scaffold.

The continuance of peace was as short as its effect had been unsatisfactory. Angry discussions had arisen, almost as early as its date, between the contracting parties; and now, assuming a more serious form, threatened to involve Europe again in war. The protracted stay of the English troops in Malta and Alexandria; the protection given in England to French emigrants; and the abuse poured upon Bonaparte by the English press, formed the chief grounds of complaint, on the part of France. Great Britain insisted on the necessity of an explanation relative to a report, made by Colonel Sebastiani to the French government, in which much abuse was levelled at the English army and its commander while in Egypt; on the temporary possession of Malta by English troops, as an equivalent for the great increase of territory acquired by France, subsequent to the treaty of Amiens; and on the evacuation of Holland by the French troops. After many conferences between Colonel Andreossy on the part of France, and Lord Hawkesbury on that of England; and between Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, and the French consul, in which each party failed to satisfy the other

the King of England formally issued a declaration of war against France.

1803.—In the British Parliament, contradictory opinions were entertained on the subject of the intended war. Pitt and his adherents pronounced it necessary: Fox thought that no sufficient grounds existed for involving the nation in the difficulties which would result from it. The address, however, in reply to the king's speech, which announced the failure of this negotiation, and the purposed renewal of hostilities, was carried in both Houses by a large majority.

CHAPTER XLVI.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND, IN 1803, TO THE PEACE OF PRESBURG, IN 1805.

WAR having been thus resolved upon, the attention of the English government was given to the devising of such means as seemed necessary to guard against the possibility of a French invasion; and to the equipment of such armaments as would support the established character of the British navy. Bills to increase the militia and render it efficient, and to arm and train the whole effective population of Great Britain, to act in defence of the country in case of emergency, passed both Houses with unusual rapidity, and received the royal assent. Supplies, to the amount of £41,000,000 sterling, to be raised by the imposition of various new taxes, and, among others, by one upon property, nearly resembling that formerly imposed upon incomes, were voted for the service of the year. Expeditions were fitted out against Demerara and Essequibo, St. Lucie, Tobago, and St. Domingo, which were crowned with success. Holland had joined France, and the other powers of Europe were, for the present, content to be but spectators of this new struggle.

News of the renewal of war between France and England reached St. Domingo, at a time when the French, hemmed in by the negro army, were confined to the immediate vicinity of Cape François, where, dispirited by sickness and want of provisions, they conceived their case nearly desperate. On the arrival of the English naval force, the French general concluded a capitulation with its commander. It was agreed that the French troops should be sent to Jamaica, as prisoners of

war, and their sick to France and America. The independence of the French part of the island was proclaimed by the negroes, and Dessalines was declared its chief.

In the mean time, the government of France was not slow, either in its announcement of war or in its preparations to carry it on with vigour. A decree was soon after issued, which, contrary to the usages of civilized nations, ordered the detention of all English subjects resident in France. A strong detachment of the army of Italy was sent upon Tarentum and other ports in the Adriatic; and a large naval force, under the command of Admiral Linois, was despatched to the East Indies, to secure the dominions of France in that quarter. Scarcely was the King of England's declaration of war promulgated, when the electorate of Hanover was invaded and summoned to surrender to the French government, by General Mortier, with an assurance that Bonaparte only meant to occupy it till Malta should be evacuated by England.

In June, 1803, the French took quiet possession of the city of Hanover, on condition that the Hanoverian army should retire behind the Elbe, and not serve against France or her allies, during the war or till regularly exchanged, and that all the electoral fortresses, arms, ammunition, and artillery, should be surrendered to the French. The spiritless resistance opposed by the Hanoverians to their invaders, caused the conquest of their territory to reflect but little additional glory upon the arms of France; but the advantages derived from it by the victors were not inconsiderable. France was now enabled to injure the commerce of Great Britain, by prohibiting British merchant-ships from navigating the Elbe and the Weser; and an order to this effect was issued by the French government. Great Britain, on her part, took measures to prevent the navigation of those rivers, while her vessels should be excluded from them. These efforts of the contending powers at mutual annoyance, proved a heavy affliction to the Hanse towns; for the blockade of their harbours was ruin to their trade. They invoked the interference of the King of Prussia, but he refused to mediate in their behalf.

While the King of Great Britain's German dominions were thus wrested by the French, the existence of disaffection among his subjects at home showed itself in an insurrection of the Irish. Robert Emmett, a man of talent and influence, and brother to the Irish director of 1798, was the chief promoter of this new disturbance. Assisted by some agents of inferior birth and ability, he plotted the establishment of a republican

form of government in Ireland, and the entire separation of that country from the sister kingdom. His plans were, originally, deeply laid; but their too hasty development, caused by a fear of detection on the part of the conspirators, occasioned their total failure. On the night of the 23d of July, 1803, those of the party who were stationed in Dublin rose, with the intention of seizing the seat and ministers of the Irish government. A want of arrangement, the consequence of too great precipitation, was observable in all their movements. Emmett sallied forth, brandishing his sword, and was followed by an undisciplined mob. The great object failed, but acts of violence were committed. Among the victims to the fury of the oppressed, were Lord Chief Justice Kilwarden, who, since the rebellion of 1798, had been an object of popular aversion, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe. The insurgents were, however, soon dispersed, and tranquillity restored to the city, by the exertions of the government troops; and the rebellion was shortly after entirely suppressed by the execution of its promoters. From the domestic disturbances of Great Britain, we must make a transition to her distant foreign possessions—her settlements in the East Indies. There, too, attempts to subvert her dominion were made and defeated, and the ensuing two months are memorable for the splendid triumphs achieved during their course, by the British arms in the Peninsula of Indostan. This war the English undertook in alliance with the Peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poonah, against the Mahratta chiefs, Scindia, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, assisted by a French force under General Perron. The English forces destined for this expedition were estimated at 55,000, of which two divisions were made; one, under General Wellesley, was to oppose the forces of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar; the other, under General Lake, commander-in-chief of the English army in India, was to act on the frontier of Oude. General Wellesley, after taking the fortress of Admenugger, attacked the united forces of the confederate chiefs at Assye, where, on the 23d of September, he gained a complete victory over an army six times more numerous than his own. General Lake was not less successful on the north-west of Oude. He took the fort of Allyghur, the residence of M. Perron, and the grand depôt of all his military stores, and defeated, near Delhi, the army of Scindia, commanded by a French officer; in consequence of which victory, the Mogul Emperor, Sha Allum, who had been expelled from his dominions by Holkar, and detained in captivity by his

enemies, was restored to the throne, and placed himself under the protection of the English. Agra surrendered to General Lake, on the 19th of October, and on the last day of the same month, he gained a furiously-contested battle, over the army of Scindia, at the village of Laswaree. These victories were followed by a peace, which expelled the French from the Deccan, and made important additions to the power and territorial possessions of the East India Company.

Party spirit ran high in the British Parliament, towards the close of this and the commencement of the following year. The ministry formed by Mr. Addington, was opposed by the adherents of Mr. Pitt, by Lord Grenville in the Upper, and Mr. Windham in the Lower House, and by the whig, or old opposition, who were incensed against the advisers of a new war. Mr. Addington, hopeless of successfully contending against an opposition, which acquired, from day to day, increased strength and consistency, resigned the office of prime minister. (1804.) Mr. Pitt was appointed to succeed him; but with an express stipulation, that the leader of the old opposition should fill no place in the new ministry, and that the Catholic question should not be revived.

The extensive preparations carried on in the ports of Calais and Boulogne, led to the belief that the invasion of England would be attempted by Bonaparte, and all necessary measures of precaution were adopted in consequence; one of which was a system of blockade, confining to their own shores the vessels of France. Bills to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and re-enact martial law in Ireland; to provide for the maintenance of the volunteer corps, and the army of reserve; to remove the depreciation which had taken place, within the year, in the price of corn, and prevent its recurrence, were discussed with much animation, and took the form of law. Neither did the English Parliament limit its views to the attainment of internal tranquillity; an effort to abolish the slave-trade, showed this assembly anxious to promote the general well-being of mankind; the effort, however, proved unsuccessful.

While these legislative enactments were in agitation in England, the measures pursued by the French government to insure its stability, were of an extraordinary and daring nature. Early in February, a plot against the government was discovered, and announced to the public, through the medium of a report from the minister of justice to the first consul. The scheme was said to have originated with Georges Cadoudal,

chief of the Chouans : it was added that Moreau and Pichegru were among his accomplices, and that the conspirators had been landed on the French coast, by Captain Wright, the companion and friend of Sir Sydney Smith. The intentions ascribed to the conspirators were, the assassination of the first consul, and the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. This report was followed by the arrest of the suspected associates ; but an act of undisguised atrocity, on the part of the French government, so preoccupied general interest at this time, as to render the fate of these popular personages a matter of minor consideration. A report having reached the first consul, that the Duke d'Enghien, the heir presumptive to the rights and titles of the house of Condé, had taken part in the conspiracy of Cadoudal, orders were issued for his arrest. This unfortunate prince resided in the neutral territory of the Elector of Baden. On the 14th of March, he and fourteen others attached to his person were seized at Effenheim, and conveyed to Paris, by a detachment of soldiers under the command of General Caulaincourt. From Paris, the duke was hurried to the Castle of Vincennes, where he arrived at five in the afternoon. Being oppressed with fatigue, he retired to rest, and instantly fell into a profound sleep. He was suddenly awakened about eleven o'clock, and led into an adjoining apartment, where he found eight officers, who had formed themselves into a military committee, of which Hulin was president. The deportment of the unfortunate prince during the trial, which was carried on with the greatest precipitation, was calm, manly, and dignified. Sentence of death was pronounced the same night, and immediately executed, by torch-light, in the fosse of the castle. The body was thrown into a trench which had been dug for the purpose, before the commencement of the trial. This flagrant violation of the law of nations and of humanity excited the general indignation of the powers of Europe. Spirited remonstrances from Sweden, Russia, and Hanover, on the violation of the neutrality of the German territory, in the illegal seizure of the duke, were presented to the Diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs.

Josephine had, in vain, exerted all her influence with Bonaparte, to induce him to alter his design. Throwing herself at his feet, she entreated and conjured—he flung her from him, with a violence bordering on frenzy. His council, too, had vigorously opposed the intended arrest ; and the unusual silence that prevailed among them, during three days subsequent to

the fatal deed, must have conveyed to Bonaparte a forcible impression of the horror it excited. The motives which influenced him on this occasion have not been clearly ascertained: aiming at sovereign power, he perhaps thought to intimidate the royalists, who desired, and to soothe the apprehensions of the republicans, who feared the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty. One public functionary had, alone, the courage to express his just indignation. M. de Chateaubriand had become known to Bonaparte by his literary productions, and his name had been in consequence erased from the list of emigrants, in 1800. When Cardinal Fesch succeeded M. Cacault, as ambassador at Rome, Chateaubriand was appointed principal secretary, but shortly after recalled by the first consul, who named him minister plenipotentiary to the Valais, with a promise of the next vacant embassy.* Being on the point of departure for his new destination, he presented himself in the first consul's cabinet, to take leave; but receiving intelligence of the seizure and death of the Duke d'Eng-hien, he sent in an immediate resignation of his office. The sensation produced by this event was deep and universal; Caulaincourt fainted at its announcement; the aide-de-camp who had accompanied the duke to Ettenheim, lost his reason; the officer who gave the word to fire, as he was told, on a brigand of La Vendée, quitted the service: in a word, by this act, Bonaparte did himself more injury than his greatest enemies could ever have inflicted.

In the early part of this year, (1804,) Goree and Surinam were taken by the British, and an action between Admiral Linois and the English East India fleet, commanded by Captain Dante, reflected much additional glory on the naval power of Great Britain. The French hostile flotilla, stationed at Boulogne, waited an opportunity of putting to sea, which the vigilance of the English guard-ships never afforded it.

The King of Spain, on the renewal of hostilities between France and England, had declared his intention to preserve a strict neutrality. Intimation, however, having been given to the English government that ships were arming in the Spanish ports, and that Spain only waited the arrival of four frigates laden with specie from South America, to co-operate with France, orders were given to Captain Moore to intercept and detain these vessels. Moore came up with, and attacked them, on the 5th of October. One of the frigates blew up;

* During this period, he dedicated to Bonaparte the second edition of his "Genie du Christianisme."

the other three surrendered and were brought to England. A declaration of war by Spain against England, was the immediate consequence of this engagement.

The tone of defiance adopted by France, her refusal to respect the neutrality of the Germanic body, to indemnify the King of Sardinia (as was stipulated by the treaty of Luneville) for the losses he had sustained, to evacuate Naples, and to adopt some measures in union with the Emperor of Germany, by which the affairs of Italy should be adjusted, occasioned an alliance between those powers and England; and active negotiations, which terminated in a league against France, were, towards the close of this year, opened between the courts of St. James and Petersburg.

The aspiring views of the first consul were not checked, nor their accomplishment retarded, either by the conspiracies of his own subjects, or by the threatened hostile alliances of foreign powers. He aimed at the possession of undivided power, and the senate and tribunals acquiescing in his wish, voted him the title of emperor, and decreed that the imperial dignity should be hereditary in his family. These measures were carried by acclamation, Carnot alone dissenting; and on the 18th of May, a deputation from the senate, with Cambacérés, the president, at its head, waited upon Bonaparte to beg his acceptance of the honours voted him.* To the congratulatory speech of the president, he replied, "Every thing that can contribute to the good of my country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent having surrounded my family with honours. At all events, my spirit shall cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the French nation."

This elevation of Bonaparte was accompanied by many alterations in the existing constitutional code, indirectly tending to increase his power. All his brothers were named princes. Joseph Bonaparte was created grand elector; Lewis grand constable; Cambacérés, arch-chancellor; Lebrun, arch-treasurer of the empire; and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace. Generals Murat, Jourdan, Berthier, Moncey, Bernadotte, Augereau, Soult, Massena, Brune, Ney, Davoust, Bessières, and Mortier, were named marshals of the

* He assumed the imperial dignity under the title of Napoleon *the Great*, as the proclamation of the senate styled him.

empire, as were the senators Kellermann, Perignon, Lefevre, and Serrurier. A few days after this event, began the trial of the conspirators, implicated in the alleged design of overturning the consular government. Those who, at first, had found means to elude pursuit, were taken shortly after the execution of the Duke d'Enghien, and there were now more than one hundred captives in the Temple, where all, excepting Moreau, were treated with extreme severity. The separate interrogatories that had taken place had drawn from them no disclosures; Pichegru had undergone ten, but had professed his intention of speaking openly, if brought before a legal tribunal, when, on the morning of the 6th of April, he was found dead in the cell which he occupied in the Temple. The government announced that he died by his own hand, but it is generally believed he fell a victim to private assassination. The death of Captain Wright, who ended his life in the same prison, is involved in equal uncertainty and suspicion. Georges Cadoudal, whose conduct was marked by the most stoical firmness, might, however, have saved his life. Offers of pardon and of employment under the imperial government were made to him in prison, which he rejected, saying, "My companions followed me into France; I will follow them to death." The regicide, Hémart, was named president of the special tribunal, before which the trials of forty-nine prisoners commenced, on the 28th of May. Bourrienne, who was a witness, describes the anxiety which prevailed, and especially the admiration with which the victor of Hohenlinden was regarded. In the midst of the proceedings, General Lecourbe unexpectedly entered the court, holding an infant in his arms, and exclaimed in a strong voice, which yet trembled with emotion, "Soldiers, behold the son of your general." All the military in the immense hall, as if by a spontaneous sympathy, presented arms to the child; Moreau remained apparently the only unconcerned spectator. Nothing in the evidence proved that he was implicated in the conspiracy; both his principles and position rendered it moreover improbable he could have been connected with the partisans of the Bourbons. Many of these excited a lively interest, particularly the two princes, Jules and Arnaud de Polignac, who each, in turn, implored the judges to let the vengeance of the law fall upon him, but to spare his brother. Arnaud, the Marquis de Rivière, Charles d'Hozier, Georges and Jean Cadoudal, with sixteen others, received sentence of death; Jules de Polignac, Moreau, and three more, were condemned to two years' imprisonment,

which, in the case of the general, was commuted to exile; he retired to America. Napoleon pardoned Arnaud de Polignac at the instance of his lady, who was introduced to the emperor by Josephine: the same clemency was extended to De Rivi re, and five others; the rest underwent the sentence of the law, on the 25th of June, with the same fortitude and resignation they had displayed during their trial. Fouch  had long been at the head of the police, when, in 1802, Bonaparte resolved to unite his department with that of public justice, of which he created a supreme judge. The secret agents of Fouch  had matured the conspiracy we have related, then detected the rebels; and, almost immediately after their execution, the minister was restored to his former functions. A decree issued by Joseph Bonaparte, announced that the ceremonies of the coronation were to be performed on the 9th of October, in the Champ de Mars. The event was notified to the bishops of France, with orders that the *Veni Creator* and *Te Deum* should be sung in the churches. An invitation was despatched to the Pope to officiate at the ceremony of consecration, and accepted by the aged pontiff, though labouring under the united pressure of years and infirmity. He thought that gratitude to Napoleon for the restoration of Catholicity in France required this concession, and hoped, too, that an interview between him and that sovereign might be productive of consequences favourable to the advancement of religion. The coronation was therefore deferred till his arrival. Pius VII. reached Fontainebleau on the 25th of November. Napoleon received him with respect, and three days later, they entered Paris in the same carriage. Josephine had often demanded that her union with the emperor might be sanctioned by the blessing of the church. Before the coronation she reiterated her request more forcibly; and Napoleon, dreading the effect of her absence on the following morning, gave his consent that the ceremony should be privately performed. Cardinal Fesch obtained a verbal dispensation from the Pope, in virtue of which he married the royal pair, without witnesses, on the 1st of December. He made no difficulty the next day, of delivering to Josephine, at her request, an attestation of the deed, at which Napoleon expressed much displeasure, saying to the cardinal, "Do you suppose, if I had really meant to be married, I should have gone that way to work? I am well aware that all you have done is invalid." Hence the marriage was not registered, and no notice of it appeared in the *Moniteur*. The Pope solemnized the ceremony of the coronation

on the following day, at the church of Notre Dame; he blessed the crown, but Napoleon himself placed it on his own head, and then crowned his empress, who remained kneeling. The constitutional bishops were not permitted to be present, and, in this respect, Napoleon was conquered by the unbending firmness of the Pope. Pius re-entered his capital on the 18th of May, and was received at the door of St. Peter's, by the Cardinal of York, dean of the sacred college. This estimable prelate was the last of the descendants of James II., and in him became extinct the unfortunate house of Stuart. The sums of money exacted by Bonaparte at the treaty of Tolentino were so exorbitant, that, to enable the Pope to pay them, the Cardinal of York sold the valuable jewels he had received from his maternal ancestors. He had remained in Paris during the adventurous career of his brother in Scotland, but immediately after its termination returned to Rome. Charles Edward still lingered at the court of Versailles, caressed and flattered for a time, then treated with neglect. On his refusal to quit France, after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, he was seized, ignominiously pinioned, and conveyed to the frontier. Before he returned to Rome, in 1750, he paid a visit to London, and remained there a fortnight unmolested. On the death of his father, in 1766, he assumed the name of Count Albany, and married, in 1771, the youthful Princess Stolberg. This union was by no means happy, they had no children, and were often separated. In 1774, they changed their residence from Rome to Florence, where the count died in 1788. His estates in Poland, with much valuable property, devolved upon his brother, the cardinal, who, notwithstanding, at the age of seventy-five, was reduced to extreme poverty, by the revolutionary wars which distracted Italy. This being made known in England, government generously settled on him an annual pension of £4,000. It does not appear that he ever took the title of king, though at his brother's death a medal was struck, on which he is described as, "*Henry IX., by the grace of God, but not by the will of man.*" He returned to Rome in 1801, and died, universally beloved and lamented, in July, 1807. Cardinal York, named, by will, Monsignor Cesarini, as his testamentary executor, committing to him the care of several trunks containing valuable papers, correspondence, &c. These, at the change of government, in 1809, were intrusted to a domestic, who concealed them carefully and died, carrying his secret with him to the grave. They were found, however, in

1816, and purchased by an Englishman for the trifling sum of 170 Roman crowns. The circumstance becoming known, and the value of the documents ascertained, the pontifical government caused the trunks to be seized, and declared the purchase illegal, the vendor having no right to sell. Many curious historical records were thus brought to light; and a careful examination having taken place, lest any should be found that might compromise honourable individuals, the collection was given up to the English government, and is still preserved under the name of the *Stuart Papers*.

One of Napoleon's first imperial measures was a pacific one. He addressed a letter to the King of England, lamenting the continuance, and proposing the cessation of hostilities. Lord Mulgrave, in reply, assured the French government, that the King of England much wished that a peace, which should provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, could be effected; but added that, as his Britannic majesty had entered into confidential connexions with the Emperor of Russia and other continental powers, he could not, until he should have ascertained the opinions of those powers on the overture of the Emperor Napoleon, accept his proposal. Some changes took place in the ministry in the beginning of the year 1805, Mr. Addington being made lord president of the council, in the room of the Duke of Portland, after having been called to the Upper House, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth. In April, an accusation against Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, respecting the disposal of the public money, arrested the public attention. An inquiry into abuses in the naval department had been instituted by the Addington ministry, and not interrupted by their resignation of office. Mr. Pitt, the warm advocate of the accused, taking a different view of the subject, Lord Sidmouth resigned. On the report of the commissioners appointed to institute an inquiry into his conduct, Lord Melville gave up his office, and his name was erased from the list of privy-councillors. A motion for his lordship's impeachment was proposed by Mr. Whitbread and carried; the trial began in the following April, before the lords, the members of the House of Commons being present in a committee of the whole House; the result was an honourable acquittal of the accused.

New schemes of ambition, successfully pursued by the French emperor, irritated the allied powers, and gave strength and energy to their confederation. In compliance with the wish of the Italian republic, as expressed by its president,

Melzi, Napoleon repaired to Milan, and was there crowned King of Italy, by the Pope's legate, with the requisite solemnities. Upon this occasion, the *iron crown* was taken out of the case, in which it had reposed for ages; Napoleon, receiving it from the hands of the archbishop, placed it on his own head, exclaiming aloud, "*Dio mi l'ha dato; gua a chi la tocca!*" which remarkable expression became the motto of the order of the Iron Crown, founded by the emperor in commemoration of this event. Eugene Beauharnais, the son of Josephine, was now adopted by Napoleon and declared his successor, in default of heirs male, on the throne of Italy, of which kingdom he was appointed viceroy. A request from the senate of Genoa presented to Napoleon, during his stay at Milan, that their territory might be incorporated with France, was quickly granted; and the annexation of Genoa to France was the immediate result of this compliance. The Emperor Alexander had deputed Mr. Novolodowitz to Paris, to act upon the overtures made by Napoleon to the court of London. Irritated by the union of the Ligurian republic with the French empire, and alarmed by the daily-increasing power of Napoleon, he now recalled his ambassador and signed a treaty of alliance with England. Austria, too, roused by the same reasons from her temporizing system of policy, made common cause with Russia and England, and engaged to assist in effecting the expulsion of the French from Italy, Hanover, and the north of Germany; in securing the independence of Holland and Switzerland; in replacing the King of Sardinia in Piedmont; in providing for the future security of the kingdom of Naples; and in establishing such an order of things in Europe, as would effectually insure the safety and independence of its several states. For the accomplishment of these purposes, the confederate powers of the continent were to furnish 500,000 effective troops, and Great Britain was to allow them a subsidy, at the rate of 12*s.* 6*d.* per man. Sweden had, on the 3d of December, 1804, entered into a secret convention with England, by which she agreed that a depôt of Hanoverian troops should be stationed in Swedish Pomerania, and England engaged to advance £60,000, to be employed by Sweden in the defence of Stralsund. Great preparations were now made by France on the one hand, and by Russia, Austria, England, and Sweden on the other, for the approaching contest. The flotilla at Boulogne was dismantled, and the army so long intended for the invasion of England, was ordered to the Rhine. Marmont,

with the troops in Holland, and Bernadotte, with those in Hanover, were ordered to the same destination. The French forces were estimated at 651,000, of whom 500,000 were to serve in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland.

Austria sent large reinforcements to Italy, and ordered that extensive military works should be constructed in the Venetian territory. Her force was estimated at 250,000 men, of whom three divisions were made—one to serve under the Archduke Charles, in Italy; one under General Mack, in Germany, and one under the Archduke John, in the Tyrol.

A powerful Russian army was despatched towards the Danube, to join the Austrians: reinforcements were sent, by way of Constantinople and the Black Sea, to act jointly with the English troops in the Mediterranean against the French in Italy, and to augment the Russian force in the Seven Islands; and a peremptory order, from Russia to Bavaria, commanded that the troops of that electorate should be incorporated with those of Austria. England prepared to despatch a formidable force to co-operate with the Swedish and Russian troops sent to Pomerania, in the recovery of Hanover, and in gaining possession of Holland.

The Elector of Bavaria had hoped to preserve a neutrality, during the continuance of the approaching conflict. He did not therefore obey the Russian mandate. The Austrians, to extort his compliance, crossed the Inn, September 8th, 1805; the Bavarian troops, flying at their approach, took refuge in Franconia; and the elector himself retired to Wurtzburg.

The invasion of Bavaria hastened the departure of Napoleon from Paris. Having issued a decree for raising 400,000 conscripts, and for embodying the national guard; and appointed his brother Joseph to superintend the government of the French empire, he set out for the frontiers on the 24th, and on the 26th reached Strasburg. His troops, to the amount of 140,000, passed the Rhine in six grand divisions.

The Austro-German army arrived towards the end of September, on the banks of the Lech. Bernadotte was despatched by Napoleon with 40,000 towards the Inn, to oppose them, while he proceeded to attack General Mack in his positions. Some battalions of the Austro-Italian army, sent by the Archduke Charles to reinforce that general, were attacked, and most of them made prisoners by the French. Memmingen, with its large garrison, surrendered, on the 13th of October, to Marshal Soult. The Austrian army was concentrated in the vicinity of Ulm, and thither the French has-

tened, they obliged the Austrians to take refuge within the walls of the city, and then, surrounding it, summoned General Mack to capitulate. The Austrian commander, reduced to the alternative of boldly marching out, and forcing a passage through the posts of the enemy, or of surrendering his army, which was 30,000 strong, chose the latter alternative, and on the 17th of October terms of capitulation were settled. The Austrian officers were permitted to return home on their parole, but the soldiers were sent prisoners to France. Napoleon then advanced to meet the remaining forces of the confederates. While he marched with the main army to Vienna, Mortier was directed to proceed along the left bank of the Danube, and to secure his left; and Ney and Augereau his right. On the 5th of November the French entered Lintz. Their rapid advance excited the fears of the Emperor Francis for the safety of his capital, and he despatched Count Ginlay to Lintz, to propose an armistice. The terms on which it was conceded by Napoleon, were rejected by Francis, and the French continued their march. Davoust's advanced guard defeated the corps of Austrians under General Meerfeld. The Russians, who had effected a junction with a part of the Austrian army, now passed the Danube at Krems, and thus abandoned Vienna. Francis had left that city for Moravia, on the 7th, after having implored the lenity of the conqueror for its inhabitants; and on the 16th Napoleon entered it. His troops, arriving in several divisions, passed through the city in pursuit of the retreating army. After having appointed General Clarke Governor-General of Upper and Lower Austria, he set out from Vienna to join his army in Moravia.

The Emperors Francis and Alexander had now united their armies, which, both together, consisted of about 100,000. Their head-quarters were at Austerlitz, a town rendered memorable by the murderous rencounter of the hostile armies on the 2d of December, at which three emperors were present. For seven hours was victory contended for, with obstinate bravery, by each army. The French were eventually successful, and the confederates driven off the field with incalculable loss. On the 4th of December an interview took place at the French advanced posts, between the Emperors Francis and Napoleon; and an armistice, as a prelude to a general peace, was agreed upon.

The French were equally successful in the Tyrol and in Italy, as in Germany. The Austrian cabinet had purposed to

render Italy the chief theatre of war, and had hoped to drive the French from that country, and restore it to its former state. By the disaster of Mack's army, however, that of Italy lost its chief support, and was obliged to limit itself to defensive, in place of offensive operations. The same circumstance which dispirited the Austrians, emboldened the French commander, and he prepared to expel the Imperialists from the Venetian territory. Marshal Massena's first operation was to force the passage of the Adige, which the Austrians vigorously but ineffectually disputed. On the 21st of October he defeated them with great slaughter at Caldiero, and having received a large reinforcement from Naples, under St. Cyr, compelled the archduke to retreat towards Vienna. The combined French armies marched in pursuit of the retreating Austrians; and having accomplished their object in driving them out of the Venetian territory, desisted from further pursuit, and determined to hold their position in Italy, till the whole of the Tyrol should be evacuated by the Austrians. The Archduke John had bravely maintained himself in the Tyrol, till Marshal Ney having entered Inspruck, he retreated towards Carniola, to form a junction with the Archduke Charles, who was at the same moment retreating before Massena. The brothers having united their forces, fell back into Hungary. The English and Russian troops, instead of arriving, as had been projected, early in the campaign in the Venetian territory, were debarked, during November, in the neutral territory of Naples. The allies suffered a disappointment, in addition to the general failure of their plans, by the vacillating politics of the King of Prussia. That monarch, offended by the passage of the French troops through the territory of Anspach, at the onset of the German campaign, prepared to resent the insult offered him, by joining the coalition against France. But the defeat of Mack and the general success of the French arms, effected a quick revolution in his purpose, and he sent Count Haugwits to the French head-quarters to negotiate with Napoleon.

But, great as were the achievements, and deep as were the designs of France, all her plans were not attended with success. Bonaparte had taken much pains during the preceding year to strengthen his maritime forces. His exertions had been seconded by Spain and Holland, and the united efforts of these powers had rendered their ships sufficiently numerous to dispute with confidence the dominion of the sea. The con-

federate fleet was stationed in several divisions round the French and Spanish coast.

On the 3d of May, 1805, the Toulon fleet, commanded by Admiral Villeneuve, put to sea, and steered for Carthage, thence for Cadiz, and ultimately for the West Indies; when leaving the harbour of Cadiz, it consisted of eighteen ships of the line, carrying, besides their full complement of sailors, 10,000 land-troops. Nelson left the Mediterranean in pursuit of the hostile fleet, with ten sail of the line, and reached Barbadoes on the 4th of June. The news of his arrival, though with an inferior force, alarmed the French admiral, and he sailed for Europe, without having made any conquest but that of the Diamond Rock. The hostile fleet fell in with Sir Robert Calder's squadron six leagues west of Cape Finisterre. Sir Robert's force was fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, and a cutter: that of Villeneuve, which had been augmented in its cruise by the junction of some vessels, was twenty sail of the line, fifty gun-ships, five frigates, and two brigs. Sir Robert attacked the enemy, and after an engagement of four hours, took two ships of the line. Satisfied with his capture, he ordered the action to cease, and suffered the remaining French armament to make the ports of Vigo and Ferrol. For not having made greater exertions to annihilate the enemy's force, he was tried and reprimanded by an English court martial.

Lord Nelson, on his arrival in London after his fruitless pursuit of the French fleet, was offered, and accepted the command of an additional armament. He sailed, on the 16th of September, for Cadiz, and on the 19th reached that port. To deceive the enemy into a belief that his force was small, and to entice them out to sea, he stationed but a few ships before Cadiz, and remained himself with the rest of his forces off Cape St. Mary. Finding this stratagem ineffectual, and knowing that a strong reinforcement had sailed from England to join him, he openly detached General Louis for stores and ammunition to Tetuan. Admiral Villeneuve, supposing the English fleet much enfeebled by this separation, resolved to put to sea during the absence of Louis, and accordingly, on the 19th of October, sailed from Cadiz. On the 21st, at day-break, the fleets came within sight of each other off Cape Trafalgar. Admiral Villeneuve formed the ships under his command into a close line of battle. The enemy's fleet consisted of thirty-three sail of the line, and seven frigates, some

of which were Spanish vessels, commanded by Admiral Gravina. Lord Nelson's force was twenty-seven sail of the line, and forty-four frigates. Admiral Collingwood was his second in command. The action began about twelve, and was maintained till four. During its continuance innumerable feats of gallantry were displayed, and great losses sustained on both sides. The capture of nineteen sail of the line and three frigates by the British, showed them victorious. But their loss counterbalanced their victory, and the result of the action of Trafalgar, like that of the battles of Quebec and of Aboukir, was to England a sorrowful triumph. Lord Nelson was mortally wounded in the heat of the action, and expired soon after its close. The ardour of his patriotism was not abated by the approach of death. Though his wound was of such a nature as to render his surviving hours intensely agonizing, his mind still dwelt upon the event of the battle, and he made no allusion to its attending catastrophe, till Captain Hardy had assured him that all the English ships retained their colours. His accustomed self-indifference and care of his soldiers were, on this trying occasion, eminently conspicuous; he would receive no medical assistance, till it had been administered to such of them as were wounded. "Go," said he to the surgeon, who, conceiving him the first object of solicitude, hung over him with officious tenderness, "attend to those to whom you may be useful; for me you can do nothing." When Captain Hardy apprized him that fifteen at least of the enemy's ships were captured, he replied, "That's well, but I bargained for twenty." He repeatedly added, "Thank God, I have done my duty." These were his last words. He survived the enemy's fatal aim three hours and a quarter. Of the fourteen remaining enemy's ships, ten made for Cadiz under Admiral Gravina, and four took a more southerly direction under Admiral Dumanoir. The latter fell in with, and were forced to strike to Sir Richard Strachan, off Ferrol, after an action of four hours' continuance.

Peace between France and Austria was ultimately concluded on the 25th of December, at Presburg. Napoleon was acknowledged King of Italy, to which Venice was united; his allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, were raised to the regal dignity, and received an increase of territory taken from Austria; Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, were added to the French empire; Lucca and the principality of Piombina were given to Elise Bonaparte, Napoleon's sister. Prussia was included in this treaty; besides renouncing to her rights

in favour of Bavaria, over the margravate of Anspach, she ceded the grand-duchy of Berg to the French emperor, who presented it to his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat. By the treaty of Presburg, it was estimated that Austria lost 2,700,000 subjects, and a revenue of 16,000,000 of florins, while the cession of the Tyrol and her exclusion from Italy greatly diminished her political consequence

CHAPTER XLVII.

FROM THE TREATY OF PRESBURG, IN 1805, TO THAT OF TILSIT, IN 1807.

THE year 1806 opened upon England with melancholy prospects. The disasters of the Austro-Russian campaign, and the dissolution of the confederacy, which it had been the masterpiece of Mr. Pitt's policy to effect, were trials which the enfeebled frame of that celebrated statesman was ill able to support. A fever, followed by a general debility, compelled him, at the close of the year 1805, to withdraw entirely from public affairs, and he died on the ensuing 23d of January, leaving the country involved in difficulties of no common magnitude. Whatever diversity of opinion may exist as to his political plans, it must at least be admitted, that his brilliant talents were exclusively devoted to the public good; and if the means he made choice of were unsuccessful, their adoption was rather an error than a crime. Parliament attested its sense of his services, by the erection of a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey; and as he had never attended to his own emolument, a sum of £40,000 was unanimously voted for the payment of his debts. The death of Mr. Pitt produced an almost total change in the ministry: the talents of all the various parties were combined, and the leading men of each selected, to form the new cabinet, of which Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were the principal members. Public confidence thus began to revive, and Parliament resumed its labours with increased vigour. The abolition of the slave-trade, which had been long desired by the friends of humanity in this country, and supported by the eloquence of Mr. Pitt, whenever it was brought before Parliament, was now pursued with so much ardour and sincerity, as to give security for the final result. Two bills, one prohibiting the exportation of

slaves from the colonies, the other preventing the increase of British slave-trade in all its branches, passed both Houses and received the royal assent. An address was moreover presented by Parliament to the king, praying his interference with foreign powers for the total abolition of that inhuman traffic. Another important measure, introduced by the new ministry, limited military service to a fixed term of years ; at the expiration of which, the soldier was to have a right to claim his discharge. But no part of our domestic policy during this year excited more lively interest, than an inquiry into the conduct of one of the members of the royal family. Representations to the disadvantage of the Princess of Wales having been made to the prince, her husband, and communicated by him to the king, Lords Erskine, Spencer, Grenville, and Ellenborough were appointed commissioners for the purpose of investigation : their labours terminated in a full acquittal of the accused.

A plan for the assassination of Bonaparte was about this time submitted to the British minister by a foreigner, who seemed to expect his concurrence ; but Mr. Fox, with his characteristic generosity, hesitated not to send an immediate warning to Talleyrand, indicating the assassin's name and residence. Several communications between the two ministers were the result of this proceeding ; and negotiations for peace were entered into and carried on during the whole year, but led, in the end, to no satisfactory result. An attempt at pacification between France and Russia was equally unsuccessful. While such was the state of affairs in England, new plans of conquest and dominion were framed, and partly executed by the French emperor. The tacit permission given by the King of Naples to the debarkation of the English and Russian troops upon his territory during the preceding year, was a violation of a treaty between him and Napoleon, which stipulated that Naples should remain neutral during the contest between the French emperor and the confederates.

Scarcely was the treaty of Presburg signed, when Napoleon vowed vengeance against what he termed " the perfidy of the King of Naples," announcing by proclamation that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign, and, shortly after, that Joseph Bonaparte should fill the throne thus vacated, under whose command a French army was quickly despatched to effect this purpose. On the 12th of February, Capua was invested by the French troops. Next day a deputation from the city waited upon Joseph, and signed a capitulation, by

which Peischieri, Gaieta, Naples, and other fortresses were surrendered. But the Prince of Hesse Philippstal, commander of the garrison of Gaieta, refused to accede to the capitulation, and announced his intention of defending the fortress to the last extremity. Joseph Bonaparte made his entry into Naples on the 15th, the royal family having previously departed for Palermo. The English and Russian troops, whose landing upon the Neapolitan shore had caused the rupture between Napoleon and Ferdinand, retreated upon the first demonstration of Bonaparte's anger; the Russians to their own country, the English to Sicily. Sir Sidney Smith, who had taken the command of the fleet destined for the defence of that island, early in April, and had introduced into Gaieta stores and provisions, tried ineffectually to rouse the Calabrians against the French. At length, at the earnest request of the court of Palermo, Sir John Stuart, who commanded a body of British troops in Sicily, embarked 4800 men, and on the 1st of July effected a landing in the bay of Euphemia, and invited the inhabitants to join his standard. Reignier, the French general, advanced from Reggio to meet the English army, and on the morning of the 3d reached the plains of Maida. After a battle of some hours' continuance in this place, Reignier's troops, consisting of 7000 men, were completely routed: 4000 men fell on their side; 282 on that of the conquerors. But this success of the English served no object. It did not prevent, it hardly even retarded, the subjugation of the Neapolitan territory. The Calabrians were indeed roused by it to a temporary insurrection; but Sir J. Stuart, disgusted with the barbarous system of warfare pursued by those insurgents, and conscious that the force under him was insufficient to effect the liberation of Naples, returned to Messina. The garrison of Gaieta, after a resistance that fixed the admiration of Europe upon its commander, was forced to capitulate. The Calabrians, despairing of success when deserted by the English, followed the general example, and bowed to the yoke of the foreigner.

It was not alone in Naples that the French emperor's thirst for glory, and for the aggrandizement of his family, showed itself. On the 31st of March, various decrees were presented for acceptance to the senate. By these, Joseph Bonaparte was declared King of Naples; Murat, Grand Duke of Berg and Cleves, and the Princess Pauline, Princess of Guastalla: the principality of Neufchatel was given to Berthier; and many other states in Italy were created duchies and bestowed

upon the emperor's favourites.* On the 5th of June, Lewis Bonaparte was created King of Holland, with a stipulation, however, that that kingdom should be still considered part of France, and subject to the control of the French emperor.

Anxious to secure the allegiance of all his subjects, Napoleon convoked the Jews from all the cities of the empire, to meet at Paris on the 26th of July; agreed to bestow stipends on their priests, and gave such a form to their church establishment, as placed the Jewish rabbi under the influence and control of government. These arrangements made, Napoleon resolved to create an association in Germany, over which he should preside. The princes destined to compose the new confederacy, were the Emperor of France, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and several of the minor German princes. The ostensible object of the confederates, as stated in their deed of union, signed at Paris on the 12th of July, was, to secure the peace of Southern Germany. They agreed to separate from the Germanic body, to remain permanently united under the designation of the "Confederation of the Rhine," and to submit their public concerns to a congress, which should si

* List of the principal titles conferred at different times by Bonaparte.

Prince of Essling.....Marshal Massena.

Prince of Benevento.....Talleyrand.

Prince of Echmühl.....Marshal Davoust.

Duke of Abrantes.....Marshal Junot.

Duke of Albufera.....Count Suchet.

Duke of Bassano.....Maret, Secretary of State.

Duke of Belluno.....Marshal Victor.

Duke of Cadore.....Champagny, Minister of Foreign Affairs

Duke of Castiglione.....Marshal Augereau.

Duke of Dalmatia.....Marshal Soult.

Duke of Dantzic.....Marshal Lefebvre.

Duke of Elchingen.....Marshal Ney.

Grand Duke of Florence...General Bacchioche.

Duke of Montebello.....Marshal Lasnes.

Duke of Feltre.....General Clarke.

Duke of Gaeta.....General Gaudin.

Duke of Otranto.....General Fouché.

Duke of Parma.....General Cambacérés.

Duke of Placenza.....Marshal Le Brun.

Duke of Ragusa.....Marshal Marmont.

Duke of Reggio.... Marshal Oudinot.

Duke of Rovigo.....General Savary.

Duke of Tarento.....Marshal Macdonald.

Duke of Treviso.....Marshal Mortier.

at Frankfort. They mutually promised to enter into no service but that of the confederation; and that if one member of their union should be involved in war, all the others should arm in his defence. Bonaparte was named head of the confederation, and his command was to be the signal for taking the field.

The formation of this confederacy was followed by a requisition from Napoleon to Francis II. to renounce the title of Emperor of Germany, with which humiliating mandate the Austrian monarch unhesitatingly complied. To induce the King of Prussia to acquiesce in the new arrangements, he was led to believe that a similar union, under his own auspices, might be formed in the north of Germany. But the hopes of the Prussian monarch were soon proved delusive, by a declaration of Napoleon that he meant to take the Hanse towns under his own protection. Nor was this the only instance in which the political plans of Prussia brought disappointment to their contriver. The subserviency of Frederic William to Bonaparte served but to alienate from his cause the powers of Europe in general, and England and Sweden in particular. He had negotiated with France after the violation of the territory of Anspach; he had attacked the troops of the King of Sweden in taking possession of Hanover, which he had accepted in contempt of the rights of England, and had aggravated his offence by prohibiting the navigation of the Elbe, Weser, and Ems to British trading or merchant-vessels. Retaliatory measures had been taken by England and Sweden. By the latter, an embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in the Baltic; by the former, on all such vessels in the ports of the United Kingdom, and the English mission had been recalled from Berlin. The Prussian monarch was ill repaid for the forfeited goodwill of England and Sweden, by him in compliance with whose wishes he had acted. In the partition of territories among Bonaparte's dependants, the duchy of Berg and Cleves was given to Murat. The deceit practised by Napoleon to effect the Rhenish confederation, roused the long dormant spirit of Frederic William, and he announced his intention to revenge the insults offered him by an appeal to the sword.

While the hostile armies prepared to take the field, England suffered a severe affliction, in the death of one of her most enlightened statesmen. Mr. Fox, whose health had been declining for some years previous to his accession to the ministry, sunk under the fatigues of office, and on the

13th of September closed his mortal career. His system of policy, like that of Mr. Pitt, is variously commented upon, and alternately censured and approved. The pacific politics of Mr. Fox indicated at least a humane mind; and the period of his ministry, however short, will be ever conspicuous in the annals of his country, as having contributed to the general civilization of Europe by the abolition of the African slave-trade.

Bonaparte was not slow in accepting the challenge of the Prussian monarch. He left Paris on the 24th of September to join his armies, which had already assembled in Franconia, and now marched in three divisions for Saxony. The Prussian army was stationed north of Frankfort on the Maine; its right wing was commanded by Blucher, its centre by the Duke of Brunswick, and its left by Prince Hohenlohe.

The hostile armies, each consisting of about 150,000 men, met on the 24th of October, between Jena, Weimar, and Auerstadt. An obstinate battle ensued, in which the Prussians were completely defeated: the Duke of Brunswick, their general, received a mortal wound during the action; and upwards of 20,000 men were left dead or wounded upon the field. From 20 to 30,000 prisoners, with 300 pieces of artillery, fell also into the hands of the French.* Prince Hohenlohe, with

* Napoleon entered Weimar the same day, exceedingly irritated against the duke, who commanded one of the divisions of the Prussian army. Apartments had been prepared at the palace for his reception, and the duchess stood at the top of the staircase when he entered. Napoleon started when he beheld her. "Who are you?" said he, with his characteristic abruptness. "I am the Duchess of Weimar." "I pity you," he replied harshly, "I shall crush your husband: let me have dinner at my own apartment." The following morning, however, he seemed desirous to atone for the violence of the eve, and when the duchess sent to solicit an audience, he proposed to breakfast in her company. During the repast, Napoleon said, "How could your husband, madam, be so foolish as to make war against me?" "Your majesty," replied the duchess, "would have despised him had he not done so. He has been upwards of thirty years in the service of the King of Prussia, and it was not when that monarch had so powerful an enemy to contend with, that the duke could abandon him." This prudent and complimentary reply was irresistible: Bonaparte was at once soothed and flattered, and continued his interrogatories. "How came the duke to attach himself to the King of Prussia?" "Your majesty will on inquiry find that the Dukes of Saxony, as younger branches of the family, have always followed the example of the electoral house; and your majesty knows what motives of prudence and policy have led the court of Dresden to attach itself to Prussia rather than Austria." This was followed by further inquiries, and answers so impressive, that Napoleon exclaimed with warmth, "Madam, you are the most estimable

the wreck of the Prussian army, retreated towards Stettin, but was overtaken at Prentzlow by Murat; and foreseeing that a renewal of defeat would be the result of battle, he surrendered his forces, amounting to 17,000 men. 15,000 Prussians, under the command of Blucher, with the corps of the Duke of Weimar, effected a retreat through Lubeck towards Danish Holstein. At Savorten, finding the enemy at hand, and knowing his forces to be unequal to a contest, Blucher also was compelled to surrender.

The other divisions of the Prussian retreating army were severally defeated. All the principal Prussian fortresses opened their gates to the French; and Napoleon, after having passed through Potsdam, where he visited the tomb, and seized the sword, scarf, and riband of the great Frederic, entered Berlin on the 27th. There he was waited on by deputations from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, and by ambassadors from the powers with whom he was at peace; and from thence he issued a decree declaring the British Islands in a state of blockade, prohibiting all commerce with England, and the entry of all ships into British ports, under penalty of exclusion from the harbours under the control of France; and ordering the stoppage of all letters addressed to Englishmen or written in England. The decree stated that these regulations were but retaliatory upon England, for her having violated the law of nations, in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an enemy, and in having extended her right of blockade "beyond all reasonable limits, to places before which she had no ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms." Nearly contemporary with this decree, was an imperial act, which conferred upon the Elector of Saxony the title of King, as a recompense for his having been reluctant to join Prussia against France. For contrary conduct, the Elector of Hesse and the Duke of Brunswick were deprived of their respective territories. Detachments of French troops were sent to take possession of Hanover, Mecklenburg, Fulda, Cassel, and Hamburg. At the latter city all British property was put under sequestration. Napoleon intrusted the government of Berlin to the Prince of Hatzfeld, who, thinking no doubt that the right of conquest did not disengage him from the fidelity he owed to his former master and sove-

woman I ever knew: you have saved your husband." After the emperor's departure from Weimar for Berlin, he often repeated this eulogium. The territory of Weimar was afterwards declared to form part of the Rhenish confederation, and its independence thus nominally secured.

reign, profited of the facilities his position afforded him of conveying intelligence to the King of Prussia. His despatches were opened at the frontier post and sent to Napoleon, by whose orders the prince was on the point of being given over to a military commission to be judged as a traitor, when his wife came to throw herself at the feet of the emperor, conjuring him not to believe what she felt assured must be a false imputation. Napoleon, putting the letter into her hands, mildly replied, "You must know your own husband's writing, madam, be you his judge." While the princess, pale and trembling, perused the fatal document, the emperor appeared touched with compassion. "Well, madam," he said, "you have the letter in your hand, and there is a fire in the apartment; if that single piece were annihilated, I should have no other proof against your husband." It may easily be imagined with what joy and promptitude the princess availed herself of the significant hint.

The King of Prussia tried, after the battle of Jena, to negotiate with his conqueror: but the terms laid down by Napoleon as an unalterable basis were so extravagant, that Frederic determined to continue the war, whatever might be its result, and he waited at Königsberg, after the failure of his negotiation, for the arrival of reinforcements and of the Russian auxiliaries he had been led to expect. The war, which partly withdrew the attention of Russia from the general theatre of action, was undertaken against Turkey. Alexander, offended by a treaty which engaged the exclusion of Russian ships from the Dardanelles, ordered General Micholson to invade Wallachia. The Turks, in retaliation, declared war in form against Russia. An English frigate, under Sir John Duckworth, advancing to mediate between the two powers, served but to heighten the indignation of the Porte. All British property at Smyrna and Salonica was put under sequestration. This war was, however, on the whole, unfavourable to Turkey; her fleet, in an action which took place between it and that of Russia, was almost annihilated.

The French now crossed the Oder in two divisions; one of which, commanded by Jerome Bonaparte, reduced Silesia; the other, under Marshal Davoust, advanced to the Vistula, and in November entered Warsaw, which the Russians had abandoned. An important action was fought in the neighbourhood of Pultush on the 26th of December. In this engagement the loss was great on both sides, but the French were victorious. The Russians now retreated towards Ostrolenka, and

the French made dispositions for winter-quarters. In the mean time the fortresses of Dantzic, Colburg, and Stralsund were closely besieged by the French, who under Jerome defeated the Silesian troops, and reduced the fortresses of Breslau, Brieg, and Schweidnitz.

The superiority of the British navy was maintained this year, by the close blockade of the enemy's ports, and the defeat of such ships as ventured out to sea. A squadron under Admiral Villanau, escaping from Brest, made for the West Indies in two divisions, one of which was shattered by a storm, and the other attacked and defeated by Sir John Duckworth. An expedition which had sailed from England in the August of 1805, for the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope, equally attained its object. Sir Home Popham and Sir David Baird commanded the forces sent upon this service. The English troops effected a landing at Saldanha Bay, early in January, and defeated the troops of General Jansens, who had assembled to oppose their progress. The surrender of Cape Town was the immediate result of this victory; and General Jansens, who had retired to Hottentot Hollands Kloof, was prevailed upon to surrender, on condition that he and his troops should be sent to Holland, and not considered prisoners of war. The English government had been chiefly instigated to this expedition, by the representations of Sir Home Popham. His advice had been also asked, upon the policy of making an attack upon Buenos Ayres; but before his departure for the Cape, the intention of gaining a position for the British troops in South America had been relinquished. No sooner, however, was the conquest of the Cape effected, than the English commander, elated by success, determined to employ the fleet, which had sailed with him for this service, in an attack upon Buenos Ayres. Having persuaded Sir David Baird into an approval of his plan, and obtained from him a small body of land-forces, he made for Rio Plata, about the middle of April, and reached that destination early in June. The arrival of the English was unexpected, and their landing therefore unopposed by the Spaniards, who fled at their approach. Buenos Ayres was taken without resistance, but the British forces, 16,000 men, were insufficient to retain the conquest. The Spaniards, soon recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown, surrounded the city, attacked its invaders, and, after a desperate conflict, obliged them to surrender. During the recapture of Buenos Ayres, Sir Home Popham was riding in safety off the coast. In October, he made dispositions for the conquest of Montevideo.

Video. Satisfied, however, with having effected the debarkation of a body of troops upon the coast, and gained a safe anchorage for his ships, he remained inactive during the remainder of the year. His having undertaken the South American expedition without authority, was pronounced rash and censurable, by a court martial.

Differences between the United States of America and England had long existed, and assumed, this year, such a character as rendered negotiation necessary to avert serious consequences. The United States complained of the impressment by the British navy of persons forced from on board American vessels on the high seas; of the violation of their rights, as neutrals, by the seizure of their merchantmen, though engaged in what they conceived lawful commerce; and of an infringement of their maritime jurisdiction on their own coasts. Conferences were appointed to be held in London for the adjustment of these differences. They terminated in a treaty, from which the American President withheld his ratification.

During this year, the Haïtians rose again; not, as formerly, to emancipate themselves from the yoke of the foreigner, but to depose their chosen chief, Dessalines, who had assumed the title of emperor, and was become an object of popular odium. He was assassinated, and Christophe appointed to succeed him. The new chief, whose election was unsuccessfully opposed by the mulattoes, with Petion at their head, exercised the authority conferred upon him, in promoting objects of national utility. He opened to neutral nations the commerce of his dominions, on liberal terms.

The Parliament of Great Britain having been dissolved after the completion of the ministerial arrangements, which were the result of Mr. Fox's demise, met again on the 16th of December. A new system of finance, suggested by Lord Henry Petty, was favourably received by the nation; and, in pursuance of the two resolutions adopted by the preceding Parliament, relative to the slave-trade, a law was now enacted to effect its entire abolition. (1807.) A bill brought in by Lord Howick for the relief of Roman Catholics and Dissenters, caused the dissolution of the existing ministry. The measure was conceived in a wise and enlightened spirit of legislation; it proposed the attainment of national unanimity, at a period when the daily-increasing power of England's inveterate enemy required all her united energies for its suppression. Such, however, was not the view in which it was contemplated from a quarter whence rejection would be annihilation to the

bill. The king conceived that acquiescence on his part in the proposed enactment, would be a violation of his coronation oath. Ministers, therefore, withdrew their measure; but, rather than pledge themselves, as was his majesty's wish, never again to propose the emancipation of their Catholic fellow-subjects, they resigned their appointments. A new ministry was quickly formed, in which the Duke of Portland was first lord of the treasury; Lord Eldon, chancellor; Mr. Percival, chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Castlereagh, secretary for the war department; Lord Liverpool, for the home department; Mr. Canning, for foreign affairs, and Lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty.

From the day of the battle of Pultush, till the end of January, no action of importance took place between the armies of France and Russia. Napoleon left Warsaw towards the close of the month. On the 7th of February, the hostile armies, endeavouring to gain an eminence behind Eylau, which commands the entrance into the town, came to a general engagement. The Russians, after contending for victory with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the issue of the battle long doubtful, were obliged to quit the field. After this battle, the French returned to winter-quarters, and the Russians, retired to Königsberg. Bonaparte covered the line of the Vistula, and concentrated his army in cantonments to the westward of that river. Great exertions, in the mean time were made by the French for the reduction of Graudentz, Colberg, and Dantzic; and by both the grand armies for the recruiting of their shattered forces. Reinforcements were daily arriving at the Russian head-quarters. Bonaparte called out the conscripts for 1808, ordered a new levy of troops to be made in Switzerland, and those under Mortier, in the north of Germany and in various other stations, to join his standard on the Vistula. The Russians, resolving to allow the French no respite, often attacked them in their cantonments, and the skirmishes which ensued were attended with serious loss to both parties.

On the 17th of April, the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia arrived at Bartenstein, and proceeded to Heilsburg, the head-quarters of the allied army. Dantzic was still besieged, and still defended with undiminished obstinacy. At length, however, all hope of relief failing, the governor proposed a conditional surrender. His proposal was accepted, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war.

The partial actions which took place between the 5th and

12th of June, terminated in favour of the French, notwithstanding the numerous instances of valour on the part of the Russians. On the 14th was fought one of the most memorable battles that even this age of almost ceaseless warfare has bequeathed to the record of the historian. The field of action lay to the south of Friedland. The contest was maintained from a little after five in the morning till seven in the evening, with doubtful success; but terminated in the total defeat of the allied forces. They retreated after the battle through Tilsit to the Niemen, with Murat in pursuit. An armistice was now proposed by General Beningsen, which was accepted by the conquerors and concluded at Tilsit. It was agreed that one of a similar nature should be concluded with Prussia, within the course of five days, and that plenipotentiaries should be appointed by the three powers to adjust terms of peace.

On the 25th, the two emperors, so lately in arms against each other, had an interview on the banks of the Niemen, and embraced with all the apparent cordiality of long-established friendship. Napoleon began the conference by some polite phrases with regard to the mutability of warlike success. At this moment the King of Prussia was announced. His emotion, which was perfectly visible, may be easily conceived; his dominions were overrun, and he had no hope but in the moderation of the victor. The French emperor seemed touched with compassion, and invited him and his queen to dinner. While they were seating themselves at table, Napoleon seized the opportunity of telling his fair guest that he restored to her Silesia, a province which she was very desirous should be allotted to Prussia in the now-pending negotiations. The emperors fixed upon Tilsit as their place of residence, during the arrangement of preliminaries. Each occupied his quarter, separated by the Niemen, while the King and Queen of Prussia had for a time no other habitation than a windmill beyond the city.

While Russia and Prussia were engaged in the contest which ended in their desertion of England, the latter abated none of her accustomed efforts to promote the object for which she allied with the continental monarchs. But victory was not always faithful to her standard. The fleet sent to the Dardanelles, under Sir J. Duckworth, forced the passage of these straits, (Feb. 19, 1807,) in compliance with instructions from the English government, which likewise ordered that the British admiral should demand the surrender of all the Turkish ships and vessels of war, and that the re-

fusal of the Porte should be followed by the immediate bombardment of Constantinople. The English fleet, in its passage between Sestos and Abydos, sustained a heavy fire from the castles. Overcoming this difficulty, it reached the island of Princes, within eight miles of Constantinople, and thence despatched a flag of truce to the Seraglio, with assurances of friendship, should the Porte accept the proposals of the British government, and of determined hostility should she reject them. Pacific overtures, and a consequent suspension of hostilities, continued till the 27th. This interval was employed by the Turks in strengthening their fortifications; so that when a decided negative was given to the proposed surrender, the whole Turkish coast was lined with batteries. Sir J. Duckworth, conceiving his situation perilous, hastened to repass the Dardanelles; not, however, without receiving much damage by the firing from the castles. This enterprise was followed by an expedition to Egypt, which also proved unsuccessful. Alexandria surrendered without resistance to 5,000 men under General Fraser; but an attempt upon Rosetta was repulsed with loss to the English, and the assailants hearing that the inhabitants of Cairo were preparing to expel them from the captured city, proposed to evacuate Egypt, if the Turks would consent to restore the prisoners taken by them at Rosetta. These conditions being accepted, they re-embarked on the 22d of September.

Though the unauthorized attack of Sir H. Popham upon the Spanish possessions in South America was censured by a court martial, it was deemed advisable to follow up his successes. On the 5th of January, the English troops arrived at Maldonado. They moved (Jan. 19, 1807) upon Monte Video, with the intention of taking that town, and attained their object, though the Spaniards, to the amount of 6,000 men, advanced to oppose their progress, and poured an incessant fire upon them. In the month of June, a British force under General Crawford, consisting of 5,000 men, arrived at the river Plata, and was joined by all the English troops in that part of South America. The command of this force (June 29) was given to General Whitelock. Being arrived before Buenos Ayres, he divided his army into several brigades, each provided with cannon and unloaded musketry. The columns were directed to march thus, without firing, till they should reach the last square of the town, where they were to form and wait for further orders. A heavy fire of musketry, stones, and missile weapons, from the tops of the houses, which

were covered by the inhabitants, dealt destruction to the English troops as they marched through the town. They, however, took the Residencia, and the Plaza-des-Toros. This advantage gained, General Whitelock consented to relinquish all further attack upon the town, and to evacuate Monte Video, on condition that General Liniers should liberate all the English, who had been captured since the arrival of Sir Home Popham. For subscribing to these conditions, and for general misconduct in the plan of attack upon Buenos Ayres, General Whitelock was tried and cashiered by a court martial, and pronounced unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity.

The terms of peace were not definitively arranged by the Tilsit negotiations, till the 9th of July. The treaty between France and Russia contained little more than a mutual guarantee of possessions, and an acknowledgment of the new kingdoms created by Bonaparte. That between France and Prussia was of a different nature: it considerably lessened the possessions of his Prussian majesty. The provinces on the left of the Elbe were entitled "The kingdom of Westphalia," and given to Jerome Bonaparte. The Polish provinces, except that part of them situated north of the Bog, which was to be incorporated with Russia, were given to the King of Saxony, with the additional title of Duke of Warsaw, and free access through Prussia to his new dominions. The titles of the Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, and of all the members of the confederation of the Rhine, were acknowledged by Prussia, and she consented to close her ports against England, till a definitive treaty should be signed between that power and France. Alexander accepted the mediation of France, for the conclusion of a treaty between him and the Porte. By a secret treaty with France he became a party to the maritime war against England, and ceded Corfu and the Seven Islands to France.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FROM THE PEACE OF TILSIT, IN 1807, TO THE PEACE OF VIENNA, IN 1809.

1807.—SWEDEN was the only ally of Great Britain that was not estranged from her cause by the peace of Tilsit: Gustavus IV. refused his assent to its stipulations. The de-

fection of his confederates, however, obliged him to relinquish the defence of Pomerania, upon which he had determined; and he withdrew the troops, stationed there, to Sweden. England, thus unassisted and friendless, had recourse to a strange expedient, and one, for the adoption of which, even the exigency of her situation seems not a sufficient excuse.

Denmark had, in the late wars, observed a strict neutrality. The daily fall of nations, however, rendering the crown-prince apprehensive that his country also might swell the number of the French emperor's conquests, he resolved to be prepared against contingencies, and stand ready for defensive measures. For this end, he assembled an army and took much pains to augment the Danish navy. These precautions were viewed by the English ministry with a jealous eye, because they had been assured that Denmark was a party to the secret treaty of Tilsit, and that the Danish fleet would be at the disposal of the French emperor. They therefore requested, on amicable terms, the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of war in some of the British ports, under a solemn promise of restitution on the conclusion of peace. In order to give weight to the negotiation, an armament of twenty-seven sail of the line, under Admiral Gambier, with a large body of land-forces under Lord Cathcart, was sent to the Baltic, to protect Denmark against France, in case of an amicable result, or to enforce compliance, should she reject the proposal. Mr. Jackson, who accompanied the expedition in the capacity of negotiator, failed, as might be expected, to accomplish the object of his mission. On the 17th of August, Copenhagen was invested, and on the 3d of September, set fire to, in several places. The destruction of the city seemed at hand, when a flag of truce, demanding an armistice, was despatched to the English admiral. The basis of the capitulation was the surrender of the Danish fleet, which accompanied Admiral Gambier to England.

This expedition excited the animosity not only of Denmark, but of Russia; and was severely commented upon as uncalled for and dishonourable, by Europe in general, and by a large majority of the English nation. A declaration of war by Russia, against England, was issued on the 31st of October, which stated as its causes, the insult offered to Denmark, and the refusal of England to accept the mediation of Russia, for effecting a general peace, after that of Tilsit.

In the mean time, the system of commercial annoyance adopted by France against England, caused as much injury

to neutral nations, as to the country against which it was meant to operate. The retaliatory orders, now issued by Great Britain, proved still more injurious. America had been hitherto permitted to be the medium of commerce between France and her colonies. The English government, on the 7th of January, issued an order in council, prohibiting neutral nations from trading with any port in the possession of, or under the control of France; and on the 11th of November, an additional order declared every port, in every country, from which Great Britain was excluded, in a state of blockade. America, in the exigency formed by this novel system of warfare, adopted the expedient of laying an embargo upon all her own vessels, and commanded all foreign ships to quit the American harbours. Her complaints were chiefly levelled against England; perhaps because other causes of animosity towards that country pre-existed in the United States. The practice of impressing American seamen on board English vessels was still exercised by England, and still loudly and indignantly complained of.

Neither the British orders in council, nor the American embargo, induced Napoleon to revoke his commercial restrictions. On the 23d of November he issued a decree, dated Milan, ordering that any vessel entering a French port, after having touched at an English harbour, should be seized and confiscated. In the following month he further decreed, that every neutral ship that should submit to be searched by an English ship, or pay duty to the English government, should be considered as *denationalized*, and be seized by French ships of war. Not satisfied with this, he extended his prohibitory mandate to Portugal, and required that no hostile vessel should be admitted into a Portuguese harbour, and that all English subjects, residing in Portugal, should be detained, and their property confiscated. The prince-regent, willing to avert the threatened storm, closed his ports against England. He, however, refused compliance with the other terms of imperial requisition, and advised the English residents to sell their property and leave his dominions. These half-measures failed to satisfy the French emperor; he insisted on the imprisonment of Englishmen, and the confiscation of their property. The Portuguese regent prepared therefore to leave a country, where, should such restrictions be enforced in opposition to his will, he could no longer act as a sovereign, and to retire to his transatlantic dominions. Hoping, however, to render this expatriation unnecessary, by conciliating

Napoleon, he at length ordered the seizure of British property, believing, when he did so, that it had all been previously removed. But this concession, while it irritated England, and led her to form the blockade of the Tagus, came too late. The French official journals had already proclaimed, that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, and a French army was now marching to Lisbon to verify this denunciation. The court of Lisbon renewed its preparations for flight, which the English blockading squadron engaged to protect. A regency, consisting of seven nobles, was appointed to administer the government during the absence of the prince-regent; and on the 29th of November the Portuguese fleet, with the royal family, sailed for Brazil. Before it cleared the Tagus, it recognised the French troops under Junot, with their Spanish auxiliaries, on the heights of Lisbon. Next day, the latter entered that city without opposition.

Spain too was on the eve of being numbered among conquered nations. An alliance between her and France had long subsisted, and had been lately, in appearance, more strongly cemented by a treaty, concluded between the two powers at Fontainebleau, which provided, that the north part of the kingdom of Portugal should be given to the King of Etruria, in exchange for the cession of his Italian possessions to France; the province of Alentejo and the Algarves to the Prince of Peace, with the title of Prince of the Algarves; the remaining provinces were to be held in sequestration till the conclusion of a general peace. The treaty farther provided, that a stipulated number of French troops should march through Spain to effect this partition of Portugal; that they should be joined in their march by a certain number of Spaniards; that 40,000 French troops should be assembled at Bayonne by the 20th of Nov. to be ready to march for Portugal, should England attempt to invade that country; and that the fortresses of Pampeluna, St. Sebastian, Figueras, and Barcelona, should be allowed, as places of security, to the army of Napoleon. It was in conformity with the stipulations of this treaty, that Junot and the Spanish auxiliary force entered Portugal.

While the negotiations for the partition of Portugal were pending, occurrences of a singular nature were taking place at Madrid. Emanuel Godoy, whose influence with the king and queen was unbounded, had rendered himself exceedingly odious to the Spanish nation at large. The Prince of Asturias sharing the general sentiment, declared himself openly the

enemy of Godoy, and a plan was devised to get rid of the obnoxious minister. But such was the infatuation of the king, that he considered as levelled against himself every attack upon the favourite. Finding that his son had written to solicit the hand of a French princess, and taken other measures to strengthen the anti-ministerial party, he published in November a manifesto, accusing Ferdinand of conspiring to dethrone him. This the prince denied, but signed, at the suggestion of Godoy, a paper expressing contrition in general terms, and a reconciliation took place between him and his royal parents. These events were but a prelude to the misfortunes which befell, during the ensuing year, the Bourbon dynasty in Spain.

The close of the year 1807 is memorable for the entire destruction of the Dutch power in the East Indies by Sir E. Pellew. After having defeated the Dutch fleet off Madeira, he obliged the batteries of Sambalargan to be dismantled.

The English Parliament opened in 1808 under gloomy auspices. Austria had tried to mediate between France and England, but her proposals not being deemed satisfactory to the interests of the allies of Great Britain, had been rejected; and a declaration of war from the Emperor Francis was hourly expected by the British ministry. That of Russia had already been received, and all Europe, Sweden excepted, seemed in alliance against England. The internal state of the country was not more cheering. Considerable distress, caused by the exclusion of British goods from the ports of Europe, existed in the manufacturing districts; and peace, the only remedy, as the people conceived, for their sufferings, was loudly called for, at a period when the attainment of it seemed impracticable.

The expected declaration of war by Austria was issued on the 8th of February. The King of England, on his side, resolving efficiently to assist his only ally, engaged, by convention, to pay to Sweden £1,200,000 in twelve monthly payments, to enable that power to support a respectable naval and military establishment. He also engaged to send auxiliary forces to the Baltic, whenever war might take place between Sweden and any of the northern powers. The invasion of Finland by 40,000 Russian troops, under Buxhovden, quickly followed the signing of the convention between Sweden and England. Denmark, too, declared war, stating as her reason for hostility, the silence observed by Gustavus on the capture of the Danish fleet, and his close alliance with

England. Gustavus sent Count Klingspor to oppose the Russians in Finland, and Baron Armfeldt to effect the conquest of Norway. The former finding his troops not sufficiently numerous to arrest the march of Buxhovden, avoided a general engagement, and, retreating towards East Bothnia, formed a junction with Count Cronstadt. The Russians, after having ineffectually endeavoured to cut off the retreat of Klingspor, retired towards the south of Finland. In the mean time Abo and Biorneburg, and shortly after Uleaburg, surrendered to the Russians. Buxhovden, after the capture of the latter city, returned to the north of Finland. The Swedish commander, conscious that an engagement with the Russians, who, during their stay in the south, had received considerable reinforcements, would bring destruction to his army, concluded an armistice with them, (Nov. 20th,) and engaged to evacuate Finland and retire beyond the river Reims. The attempt upon Norway was productive of equal disappointment to Gustavus. The Norwegian peasantry, uniting with the regular troops, expelled the Swedish force, and, seizing the passes of the mountains, secured them against future incursions. Neither did the troops which the English government sent to the Baltic, in conformity with the convention between England and Sweden, attain their object, though amounting to 10,000 men, and commanded by an able and experienced general. They were rendered inoperative by the imprudence of the Swedish monarch himself. When they reached Gottenburg, (May 18th,) Gustavus proposed to their commander, Sir John Moore, that they should remain on ship-board till some Swedish regiments could be embarked with them, and that, when thus reinforced, they should land upon and endeavour to conquer Zealand. A force far superior in number to that under Sir John Moore, or to any that Gustavus could assemble, preoccupied Zealand, and the fortresses in the island were strongly garrisoned. Sir John, therefore, declined making an attempt, which he saw would be attended with defeat and dishonour to himself and his army. Gustavus then proposed that the English should make a descent upon Russian Fin'land. As the chief Russian force was concentrated in Finland, a descent there could serve no purpose but that of insuring a triumph to the enemy. Sir John as firmly declined compliance with this, as with the former proposal of the Swedish monarch: upon which Gustavus put him under arrest, and thus lost the support of the

British army; for its commander, having with some difficulty effected his escape, returned with it to England.

The King of Denmark, who had long laboured under a mental malady, died this year, and his title devolved upon his son, the crown-prince, whom we must henceforth designate Frederick VI.

A more important change, and one which excited a greater sensation in Europe, took place in Italy. In order to understand the subject of dispute between Bonaparte and the Pope, we must retrace in a few words the altercations which had previously occurred since the autumn of 1805. In the month of September of that year, the Neapolitan minister at Paris had concluded a treaty, by which France agreed to withdraw the forces she had maintained in the kingdom of Naples since the year 1801. These troops, on their return through the ecclesiastical state, established themselves at Ancona, where they amassed provisions, increased the fortifications, and made such arrangements as indicated their intention of retaining their situation. The court of Rome complained of so unexpected an invasion, and addressed itself on the occasion to Cardinal Fesch, who declared himself unable to give any information on the subject. The Pope then addressed a brief to Bonaparte himself, in which he complained, with moderation but with firmness, of an invasion so contrary to the neutrality he professed. Napoleon was then in Germany, and did not answer the Pope's letter till after the peace of Presburg. In his reply of the 6th of January, 1806, he accused the Pope of listening to bad counsellors, and after complaining that his Holiness refused all his demands, even those "the most interesting to religion,"* as the depression of the Protestants in France,† he informed him that it was to protect the church that he had occupied Ancona.† At the same time he wrote a letter to Cardinal Fesch, in which he openly avowed his pretensions, and declared that, unless Rome submitted to his will, he would send a governor thither and deprive the Pope of all but his spiritual authority. This intention was communicated to his Holiness, who again (Jan.

* Napoleon had written to the Pope in 1805, begging him to declare the marriage which his brother Jerome had contracted with Miss Patterson, in America, null, on the plea that the prince was a minor and the lady a Protestant. The Pope, after mature examination, wrote him a long letter, in which he proves the impossibility of acceding to his demand.

† Précis des contestations entre le saint Siege et Buonaparte.—Par M. Schoell.

29th) addressed the French emperor; and, after representing to him the little foundation of his pretended grievances, recommended to him the interests of religion in that part of the Venetian states, which had recently been united to the kingdom of Italy, and entreated him not to introduce any innovations in the clergy. In reply Bonaparte said, that he was Emperor of Rome, and that God had appointed him to watch over the maintenance of religion, &c. To join effects to words, he ordered his ambassador to demand that all natives of nations at war with him should be sent from Rome, and their vessels refused entrance into the ports of the papal government. During this correspondence, the French troops entered on all sides, and occupied, on the Adriatic Sea, Pesaro, Sinigaglia, Fano, and other places.

The answer of the cardinal legate to the demands of Bonaparte, developed the conscientious motives which prevented the Pope from engaging in hostility with other states, and contained a strong remonstrance upon the different laws and ordinances which, to the prejudice of religion and of its ministers, had been promulgated in the French empire, and in the other states depending upon his majesty. “The *lois organiques* published (without the knowledge of the Pope) with the concordat, deprived religion, in great measure, of the fruits which were expected, in France, from the finest monument of his majesty’s love for the Catholic religion. After them came the multiplied orders given by the *ministre du culte*, and the publication of the civil code, which were all so many blows, levelled in France against the doctrine and general practice of the church.” These remonstrances effected no alteration in the purpose of the emperor. He had already incorporated Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, with the kingdom of Italy; and his *Ultimatum*, which was proposed on the 9th of January, 1808, informed the legate that if, within five days, the Pope did not declare to the French ambassador an entire adherence to his demands,*

* The demands made by Napoleon in 1807, and refused by the Pope, were the following :

1st. He required that the Pope should acknowledge a Patriarch in France, whom he, Napoleon, had named.

2d. That the *Napoleon code* should be enforced throughout the ecclesiastical state.

3d. That all religions should be publicly exercised.

4th. He demanded a reform in the bishoprics, and that the bishops should be independent of the Holy See.

the papal government should definitively lose, not only Ancona, but also Perugiano, to be incorporated with Tuscany; half of the Campagna di Roma, to be united to the kingdom of Naples; and that he would take possession of the rest of the ecclesiastical state, and place a garrison in Rome. The Pope, in his declaration of January 28th, promised his adherence to such articles of the *Ultimatum* as were not inconsistent with his conscientious obligations, and the rights of his see; and protested against the occupation of his dominions by the French; but his answer was not judged satisfactory, and their troops entered Rome on the 2d of February, took possession of the castle of St. Angelo, garrisoned the posts, and surrounded the entrance of the Quirinal Palace, the residence of a pacific sovereign, who was at peace with all the world.

But the spoliation of the papal territory, and the northern war, were but secondary objects with Napoleon. The treaty of Fontainebleau was a remote preparation for an attack upon the Spanish monarchy; and no less a visitation than the loss of his crown and kingdom, was the consequence of the treacherous imbecility, with which Charles consented to the passage of French troops through his territory, for the partition of Portugal. No sooner were the chief fortresses in the hands of the French troops, than an angry letter from Napoleon complained of seeming unwillingness of Charles to conclude a marriage, which had been for some time in agitation, between a Princess of France and the Prince of Asturias. The Spanish monarch, arguing from this letter that his throne was insecure, proposed to emigrate. A violent ferment in the capital and at Aranjuez was the result of this meditated removal. The house of the Prince of Peace, who, it was supposed, had advised the obnoxious measure, was forced, and that minister seized and imprisoned. The king, finding that the popular fury would not be quieted, and rendered unequal by the pressure of infirmity to sustain the weight of government in so trying an emergency, resigned the cares of royalty to his son, Ferdinand.

Ferdinand reappointed his father's secretary, Cevallos, to

5th. The abolition of the pontifical bulls, which regard the collation of bishoprics and parishes.

6th. The abolition of religious orders of both sexes.

7th. Permission for priests to marry in future.

8th. He demanded lastly that the Pope should crown Joseph Bonaparte as King of Naples.

See the *Tableau Synoptique de l'Hist. de France*, vol. ii., p. 241.

office, confiscated the property of Godoy, nominated the Duke del Infantado, a popular nobleman, commander of the Spanish guards, and succeeded by conciliatory measures in gaining the confidence of his people. He notified to the French emperor his accession to the Spanish throne, and accompanied his message with assurances of his wish, that the recent changes in Spain might cause no interruption to the confidential alliance which had so long subsisted between that country and France. Charles, who, in the interim, had been led to regret the title he had resigned, wrote on the other hand to Napoleon, that the abdication of the Spanish crown was an involuntary act, which circumstances had rendered necessary, to save both his own life and that of the queen, from the threatened violence of Ferdinand's partisans. The French troops were, in the mean time, concentrating in the heart of Spain; and their emperor, whom Murat publicly affirmed to be marching for the Spanish frontier, declined making any reply to repeated kind messages delivered to him on the part of Ferdinand.* It was, however, intimated to the latter, that his advancing towards the frontier to meet his guest, would be a sure means of winning his friendship. Cevallos strongly advised his royal master against making this journey, till Bonaparte should have at least passed the Pyrenees. But the faithful minister's remonstrances were overruled by the persuasions of Murat and Savary; and Ferdinand, expecting at the end of each day's journey to meet Napoleon, was allured from Madrid to Burgos, thence to Vittoria, and lastly to Bayonne. There the royal interview took place, and under such an exterior of friendship, as seemed to promise Ferdinand the immediate recognition of his title. Savary, however, was soon deputed to say that Napoleon required him to resign in his own name, and in that of his family, the crown of Spain and of the Indies. The Spanish monarch expostulated against

* Napoleon, as it is said, sought at first to effect the subjugation of Spain, by the marriage of his niece, Charlotte, the daughter of Lucien, with the heir to that monarchy. Had he succeeded in this design, Ferdinand would probably have retained his crown, for which the emperor had some difficulty in finding a candidate. But the young lady resolutely declined the projected union. "C'est un nigaud," said she, "je n'en veux pas." Both Louis and Lucien had refused the Spanish sceptre before it was offered to Joseph, to whom the transition could scarcely have been agreeable, from a throne, of which he was in peaceable possession, to one which he would have to win by force of arms. It has been asserted that he came to Bayonne to decline with proper courtesy the proposed transfer; but this Napoleon prevented by saluting him as King of Spain.

the treachery, and refused compliance with the requisition of his ally. But neither his representations, nor those of Cevallos, could shake the purpose of Napoleon. The abdicated monarch, with his queen and the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio, who had been by similar means decoyed to seek an interview with the French emperor, now arrived at Bayonne. The two kings being thus in his power, Napoleon easily won over Charles to make a formal resignation of his crown; while Ferdinand, who was kept in ignorance of this previous arrangement, was induced to abdicate in favour of his father. By a second declaration, in which the young king and his brothers adhered to the cession made by Charles of the monarchy of Spain and the Indies, the object of the French emperor in this unprincipled transaction was fully accomplished.

Charles, to reconcile the Spaniards to this transfer, issued a proclamation to the supreme council of Castile, to the inquisition, and to the junta of government, informing them that he had abdicated in favour of "*his friend*," the Emperor Napoleon; appointing Murat lieutenant-governor of the kingdom, and advising his subjects calmly to acquiesce in the new arrangements. Ferdinand, and the Infantes Don Carlos and Don Antonio, addressed proclamations of a similar nature to the Spanish nation. As a reward for the compliance of Charles and Ferdinand, to the former was given the palace of Compiègne and a civil list of 800,000 livres; to the latter, the demesne of Navarre, with a yearly grant of 400,000 livres of appanage-rent, to descend to his heirs, and a grant of 60,000 livres for life. Ferdinand's uncle and brothers were also allowed a yearly revenue. When these terms were finally adjusted, the royal family of Spain were sent into the interior of France.

While the surrender of the Spanish monarchy was in agitation at Bayonne, popular commotions, caused by the indignation of the Spaniards at the violence offered to their rulers, prevailed in Madrid. On the 2d of May, the Queen of Etruria and the Infante Don Francisco de Paula, who had not accompanied Charles or Ferdinand to the frontiers, prepared to join their royal relatives at Bayonne. A report having gained circulation that Antonio, president of the provisional government, was, by Murat's order, likewise to leave the capital, the citizens, assembling tumultuously in the principal streets, resolved to prevent his departure. The Spanish troops, confined by order of Murat in their barracks, could

give no support to the populace, who, notwithstanding, boldly attacked the French soldiery. The result may be easily conjectured. Six thousand armed and skilful troops triumphed over the exertions of an undisciplined rabble. Numbers were massacred, and those who had been so fortunate as to escape the carnage in the streets, were pursued into their houses, and shot or put to the sword. On the following day the surviving insurgents were arraigned before a tribunal, of which Grouchy was president, and sentenced to execution. The council of Madrid, anxious to prevent a repetition of similar horrors, appointed Murat their president. Petitions, in the name of the Spanish grandees, dictated, as it is said, by him, and praying the elevation of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain, were presented to Napoleon; and the emperor's brother was in consequence declared successor of Ferdinand. But neither the addresses of Charles and Ferdinand, nor the advice of the council of the inquisition, nor yet a conciliatory proclamation from Napoleon himself, could reconcile the Spaniards to the recent events. The Governor-general of Andalusia, suspected of attachment to the French cause, was put to death, and Don Morla, a staunch patriot, appointed to fill his place. The Governor-general of Arragon was, for a similar reason, supplanted by General Palafox. The juntas assembled; the assistance of England to expel the French from Spain was applied for, and a general insurrection in all the provinces not occupied by French troops, quickly took place. As Madrid was in the hands of the enemy, the chief direction of the resources of Spain devolved upon the junta of Seville. A declaration of war against France and of peace with England, as also directions relative to the system of warfare to be observed in the approaching contest, were issued; all persons from the age of sixteen to forty-five, who had no children, were ordered to enrol themselves under the banners of Ferdinand, and the patriots were advised rather to harass the French, than to engage them in general actions. Early successes animated the Spaniards to vigorous and persevering exertions in the cause of independence. A French squadron of five ships of the line and two frigates, under the command of Admiral Rossilly, in the harbour of Cadiz, was obliged, (June 14th,) after having sustained a heavy cannonade for three days, to surrender to General Morla. To prevent the capture of this squadron, and to reduce the cities of Seville and Cadiz, General Dupont had been despatched by Murat, with a considerable force, to Andalusia. Dupont

passed the Sierra Morena without opposition, and entered Cordova, where he was but feebly resisted. When apprized, however, of the surrender of the fleet, and that the Spanish general, Castanos, with the forces of Andalusia and a body of troops from Ceuta, was advancing to oppose him, he retreated upon Andujar. In an endeavour to surprise one of the divisions of Castanos' army, he was defeated and compelled to surrender. By the terms of the capitulation it was agreed, that the French should be embarked at Cadiz, and sent to Rochefort. With this condition, however, the junta of Seville refused to comply, alleging that Castanos had exceeded his powers in treating with the enemy.

While the French were thus unsuccessful in the south of Spain, the emperor remained at Bayonne, where he had called an assembly of Spanish notables, to deliberate on the formation of a new constitutional code. Joseph Bonaparte arrived in that city on the 6th of June, and was waited upon by deputations from the council of Castile, and from the *grandees* of Spain. When the constitution had received the approbation of the notables, Joseph set out for Madrid, after having abdicated the crown of Naples in favour of Murat, and chosen ministers to assist him in the discharge of the duties of his new sovereignty. He made his triumphant entry on the 10th of July, and was crowned, amidst the plaudits of the *grandees* and the undisguised murmurs of the populace, on the 19th, which was the very day of Dupont's surrender. The news of this disaster induced him to retreat to Burgos; not, however, till he had secured the plate and regalia belonging to the Spanish crown.

Palafox was as successful against the enemy in Arragon, as Castanos in Andalusia. General Le Febre invaded that province early in June, and, repelling the opposition of the Spanish peasantry, pushed on to Saragossa, and, on the 14th, stationed a detachment of his troops under its walls. These were repulsed with loss, and General Palafox prepared the city to sustain a siege. On the 27th, the French advanced to attack it, but their battering engines were defied by the Arragonese, who, during a siege of six weeks' continuance, displayed such unexampled bravery as ultimately to discourage the assailants, and compel them to withdraw their troops. In Valencia, too, victory declared itself for the patriot standard. General Moncey, sent by Bonaparte into that province, succeeded in forcing his way to the capital, which he prepared to attack. For seven hours the French

cannonade was directed against it; but the besiegers, being repulsed in two attempts upon the gates, relinquished their purpose, and retreated out of the province.

Great importance was attached, both by the French and Spanish commanders, to the possession of the road between Bayonne and Madrid. Cuesta was the Spanish, Lassolles the French general, deputed to secure this communication. On the 14th of July these commanders met and fought, at Rio Seco. The patriots were, at the first onset, victorious; but were eventually forced to retreat to Benavento. The loss sustained by the French, however, in this action, was so great, as to render their victory but a trifling advantage.

Upon the departure of Joseph Bonaparte from Madrid, the council of Castile resumed the administration of government, and professed attachment to the cause of Ferdinand; but the junta of Seville continued to direct the movements and to possess the confidence of the patriots. By its order, a supreme government, composed of members selected from all the juntas of the kingdom, was formed and installed (September 24th) at Aranjues; and a military junta, consisting of five generals, among whom were Castanos and Morla, was formed at Madrid. The defeat sustained by the French on all sides, obliged them to retreat northward. They repassed the Ebro, concentrated their forces in Navarre and Biscay, and awaited the arrival of reinforcements. The chief command of the French troops was vested in Marshal Bessières. The Spanish forces under Castanos, Blake, and Palafox approached the same direction, with the intention of occupying the line of the Ebro.

The application of the Spanish patriots to England was not fruitless. Large supplies of arms, ammunition, and clothing were sent to the juntas of Galicia and Asturias, and 9,000 men, commanded by Sir Arthur Wellesley, sailed from Cork on the 12th of July for the Spanish coast. They arrived at Corunna on the 20th. Sir Arthur proposed that they should be employed against the French in Spain; but the junta of Galicia declined the offer, and requested Sir Arthur to employ his force in expelling the French from Lisbon. He therefore left Galicia for Oporto. The resistance made by the Spaniards to the yoke of France, roused a corresponding spirit throughout the whole north of Portugal. Provincial juntas were assembled as in Spain. That of Oporto was the most efficient: by its orders the resources of the kingdom were directed. The Portuguese governor of that city show-

ing disaffection to the patriot cause, was superseded by the bishop ; and 20,000 men were sent to oppose a body of French troops, which had advanced under General Loison to Amarante. A league, offensive and defensive, with Spain, was signed on the 14th of July, at Oporto, in the names of the prince-regent and King Ferdinand. The spirit of patriotism in the south of Portugal was checked by Junot, who defeated its rising efforts at Villa Vicosã, Beja, and Evora.

The junta of Portugal having also applied to England for support, the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley ultimately disembarked in Mondego Bay. It was to be reinforced by troops from the south of Spain under General Spencer, by 5,000 men from England under Generals Auckland and Anstruther, and by 10,000 men from the Baltic under Sir John Moore. The command of this united force was vested in Sir Hew Dalrymple. The patriots were further encouraged by the presence of an English fleet, under Sir Charles Cotton, upon their coast.

Sir Arthur Wellesley being apprized that Junot had detached Loison with 6,000 men to quell an insurrection in Alentejo, disembarked his troops without waiting the arrival of the expected reinforcements. He was joined by General Spencer on the 9th of August, and marched from Mondego towards Lisbon. As Marshal Bessières was advancing to support Junot, Sir Arthur determined to attack the latter before the projected junction could be accomplished. But this plan of operations was disconcerted by a coolness, which arose between the English and Portuguese commanders ; the latter demanding supplies from the English stores, and the former refusing to grant them, on the plea that their being shared in the way proposed, would render the support of the British troops scanty and precarious. On the 15th the advanced guard of the British army came up with and defeated a party of French troops at Oviedo, and, two days later, Sir Arthur Wellesley gained a signal victory over General Laborde, at Roleia. The victorious army then moved to Lourinha, to cover the debarkations of Generals Anstruther and Auckland ; and on the 21st resumed their march towards Lisbon. Junot, resolving to attack the English army, before it could be reinforced by Sir John Moore, advanced to meet it, and came up with Sir Arthur in the vicinity of Vimeira. The contest that ensued was protracted and desperate, and its result a decisive defeat to the French, with comparatively slight loss to their opponents. Sir H. Burrard, superior in

command to Sir A. Wellesley, had arrived after the dispositions for battle had been made. Foreseeing that they were such as would insure victory to the English, he declined taking the command, till Sir Arthur Wellesley should have gained all the advantages which seemed to await his masterly arrangements. The English army removed to Cintra after the battle of Vimeira, and, on the following day, Sir Hew Dalrymple, commander-in-chief of the united divisions, arrived at the British camp. A flag of truce was despatched by Junot, with a proposal for an armistice, preparatory to the arrangement of a convention, by which the French would engage to evacuate Portugal. The proposal was accepted, and a convention signed; the chief articles stipulated were, that all such ports in Portugal as were then in the hands of the French, should be surrendered to the English army; that Junot's troops should be conveyed to France, at the expense of the British government, and that no native of Portugal should be accountable for his political conduct, during the time that the French had occupied that country. By a separate convention, the Russian ships in the Tagus were to be sent to England, under Sir C. Cotton, and there detained, till peace should be concluded between the two nations. The terms of the convention excited loud murmurs of disapprobation. General Freire, the Portuguese commander, reprobated its stipulations: and in England the call for inquiry into the motives which had influenced its framers, was so general, as to induce the government to institute a board for that purpose. Sir H. Dalrymple, Sir H. Burrard, and Sir A. Wellesley were summoned to attend the investigation. The board of inquiry partly approved, and partly condemned the terms of the convention, so that no further proceedings were instituted against the generals.

The command of the British troops in Portugal was now given to Sir John Moore, who had arrived at his destination, while the negotiations for the convention of Cintra were pending. His orders were to advance into Leon and Galicia, where 12,000 men, who had embarked under Sir David Baird at Plymouth, for the Spanish service, were to join him; and it was proposed that these united armies should co-operate with the patriots, in expelling the French from Spain. A corps of 10,000 Spanish veterans, under the command of the Marquis de Romana, landed in the north of Spain about this time, and proved a valuable acquisition to the patriot cause. They had been drawn out of the country as auxiliaries, early in the year, by Bonaparte, and were stationed in Denmark at

the epoch of the French invasion. By the assistance of the English Admiral Keats, their gallant commander was enabled to liberate his corps, which was conveyed by a British squadron to the coast of Spain. Napoleon left Bayonne in September for Paris; and thence, after having called out an additional force to act in Spain, proceeded to Erfurth, to meet the confederate German princes and the Emperor Alexander. Overtures of a conciliatory nature from France and Russia, to England, were the immediate result of this conference; but as the King of England would enter into no specific discussion, in which the plenipotentiaries of the Spanish patriots were not allowed to participate, the prosecution of war was determined upon by all parties. Bonaparte, therefore, returned to Spain in November with a reinforcement of 12,000 men, and fixed his head-quarters at Vittoria. The whole French force in Spain now amounted to 200,000 men. The left wing, commanded by Moncey, was posted along the rivers Ebro and Arragon; the division of Ney was at Guardia; Bessières was at Miranda; and Merlin on the heights of Durango.

The united force of Castanos and Palafox, which formed the left wing of the Spanish army, was 20,000 men; it was posted on the left bank of the Arragon. The army of Estramadura and Murcia, under General Cuesta, formed the centre and opposed the French on the Ebro; its amount was 30,000. Blake's force, 25,000 strong, was stationed on the right of the French army. But the real strength of the patriots lay in the armed population, continually carrying on an irregular, but extremely harassing warfare against the invaders. The trained forces of Spain were wholly unable to contend in the field with disciplined troops, commanded by the ablest generals of the age, and fighting under the eye of the emperor. Hence the campaign which followed Napoleon's arrival, was marked by a series of victories on the part of the French; and the Spanish forces were rendered ineffective, before the English could arrive to afford them succour. Sir J. Moore had, in effect, marched from Lisbon in October to push into Leon, as he had been ordered, intending to unite his army with that of Sir D. Baird, either at Valladolid or at Salamanca. The latter, however, upon his arrival at Corunna, was refused permission to disembark by the junta of Galicia; and when, after much expostulation, the permission was granted, he could hardly procure necessities for the march or sustenance of his troops. The Spanish armies, which for the most part pre-

sented a mass of wretched, undisciplined peasantry, instead of trying to form a junction with the British auxiliaries, marched from them, except 12,000 men of the army of Estramadura, who were but newly levied, and commanded by Count Belvidere, a young, inexperienced officer. These advanced upon Sir J. Moore's line of march as far as Burgos.

The French were not slow in taking advantage of these errors. They resolved to defeat the Spaniards, before the English could arrive to reinforce them, and began by attacking, on the 31st of October, the division commanded by Blake. After skilfully contending, during eight hours, with his assailants, that general was forced to retreat upon Valmaseda. Thither he was pursued by Le Febre, and, in the course of a few days, sustained such heavy losses, as compelled him to withdraw into Asturias, and rendered him unable to take any efficient part in the subsequent operations of the campaign. Against Belvidere and Castanos the French were equally successful. The city of Saragossa, into which the heroic Palafox had retired, sustained a second siege, as memorable as that already mentioned; and it was not till 30,000 citizens had fallen in its defence, nor till the mortality caused by pestilence amounted daily to 400 persons, that the inhabitants consented to surrender. While Sir John Moore awaited at Salamanca the expected arrival of Sir D. Baird and General Hope, he received intelligence of the defeat of the Spanish armies. His first impulse was to retreat upon Portugal; but this resolution was counteracted by letters from Mr. Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid, and from Castel Franca and General Morla,* all of whom advised his advance upon that city, and assured him of the co-operation of the Spaniards in and about the capital. Similar representations from Morla, induced Castanos to march from Catalaya upon Madrid, over roads almost impassable. His troops had to contend, during their progress, with cold, hunger, and nakedness, and, being pursued by Bessières and Victor, were overtaken by them at Tudela, and entirely defeated. Castanos was shortly after recalled by the supreme junta and superseded by Lapena.

On the 2d of December, Bonaparte arrived before Madrid. The citizens resolved upon making a desperate defence, and submitting to every privation rather than capitulate. The enemy's cannon, which for two days played upon, and threatened destruction to their city, effected no alteration in their

* Castel Franca and Morla were the Governors of Madrid, and traitors to the patriot cause.

purpose; but the governors consented to a surrender, and on the 5th the French took possession of Madrid.

Sir John Moore, yielding to the wishes of the city authorities, had advanced, after having been joined by General Hope, towards Valladolid. While on his march, he learned that Soult was at Saldanha, Junot at Burgos, and Bessières pursuing the retreating army of Castanos to Valença. Fearing that the near approach of the French might prevent his junction with Sir David Baird, he made for Majorga, where this long-projected union was at length accomplished. The British army, now consisting of 25,000 men, advanced with the intention of giving battle to Marshal Soult, when Sir John received intelligence that Napoleon had issued orders to his generals, enjoining them to advance from their respective positions, so as to enclose the British army, and that Soult had received considerable reinforcements.

Upon the receipt of this information, he conceived retreat indispensable, and fell back upon Galicia. On the 26th, Napoleon's cavalry, and part of his artillery, came up with the rear of the British army, commanded by Lord Paget, and two skirmishes ensued, in which the English were victorious. When Napoleon reached Astorga, news that Austria proposed to take advantage of his absence, to recover the territories of which she had been deprived by the treaty of Presburg, recalled him to Paris, and obliged him to leave the pursuit of the English armies to his generals.

Sir J. Moore, though rapidly retreating, purposed, if possible, not to withdraw his troops from the Spanish territory. He hoped to maintain himself in the mountains of Galicia, and, by avoiding a general engagement, to gain time; during which, reinforcements might arrive from England, the Spanish armies in the south be assembled, and the troops under Romana, who, upon Blake's defeat, had been appointed commander-in-chief, be equipped and reinforced. But accumulated and unexpected difficulties frustrated the hopes, and marred the projects of the British general in every stage of the campaign. He had expected much assistance from the Spanish peasantry, whose enthusiasm in the cause of independence had become proverbial; he found such mismanagement in the Spanish councils as to render it unavailing: he had hoped for the co-operation of the Spanish armies; not one of them formed a junction with him: the central junta had misled and deceived him; the provisions of the English army were scanty; relief of any kind was reluctantly yielded, and in

most instances carried off by the peasantry ; the severity of the season so increased these difficulties, as to make them almost insurmountable ; the troops, rendered desperate by want of necessaries, were disorderly and unmanageable ; and, in fine, the French army, far superior to his in number, was in close pursuit. At Lugo, however, where Sir John arrived on the 9th of January, 1809, he determined to offer battle, and chose a judicious position for that purpose. But as Soult declined the combat, he resumed his march for the coast, where he had ordered transports to be in readiness to receive his troops. He reached Corunna on the 11th : the transports, detained by contrary winds, had not yet arrived, and, on the morning of the 12th, the French were seen approaching the city ; upon which Sir John took possession of a ridge of heights, which seemed the most favourable situation for contending with the enemy. Next day, the transports became discernible from the shore, the French advanced opposite to the British position, and on the following morning began the attack. Almost at the onset, Sir D. Baird's arm was shattered, and he was obliged to leave the field. Not long after, a cannon-ball from the enemy's batteries carried off the left shoulder and part of the collar-bone of Sir John Moore, but caused no alteration in his countenance or manner. His officers, deceived by his heroic endurance of suffering, supposed him for some time merely stunned by the shot. When the severity of his wound became apparent, they removed him from the field, and the command of the army devolved upon Colonel Hope. The troops, who, from the commencement of the action, had fought with determined bravery, were not dismayed by the absence of their generals, and maintained the contest with undiminished ardour. The total defeat of the enemy was the reward of their exertions. On the night of the 16th, they marched into Corunna, and the next day embarked for England. In the mean time, the general, to whom they were indebted for having made as memorable a retreat as any on historic record, was numbered among the dead. His officers, recollecting, after his decease, that he had not only desired to die in battle, but that the spot marked by his fall should be that of his interment, wrapped him, for want of a coffin, in a military coat and blankets, and buried him by night on the ramparts of the citadel of Corunna.

While the contest for the possession of Spain and Portugal was so vigorously maintained in the Peninsula, the foreign territories of the aggrieved powers made common cause with

their parent states. The Spanish West India islands and many ports of the Spanish main, proclaimed war against the French emperor. At Buenos Ayres, too, the spirit of patriotism showed itself, and the ports of the Brazilian coast were opened to English and Portuguese ships.

A sanguinary revolution took place this year in Turkey. Selim III. had been dethroned and imprisoned in 1807, by the Janizaries, who raised his nephew, Mustapha, to the throne. The new sultan was deposed, through the agency of Mustapha Bairacter, who caused Selim to be again proclaimed emperor. Mustapha prevented his uncle's restoration, by ordering him to be strangled; he could not, however, hinder his own deposition, and the elevation of his younger brother, Mahmoud, to the throne. This prince made Bairacter grand vizier; he distinguished the short period of his ministry by new-modeling the army and navy, and introducing various improvements. But, like the late Sultan Selim, who had first attempted these useful changes, he too fell a sacrifice to the fury of the Janizaries. On the 15th of November, 1809, an insurrection broke out among these turbulent troops, who scaled the walls of the seraglio; when Bairacter, having first strangled Mustapha, blew himself up in his own palace, with gunpowder which he had previously provided for such an occurrence. Mahmoud continued to occupy the throne.

1809.—The British Parliament assembled on the 19th of January, and passed a vote of thanks to the officers and soldiers, who had served in the Peninsula under Generals Sir J. Moore, Sir A. Wellesley, and Sir D. Baird. At an early period of the session, an inquiry was instituted which excited considerable interest. Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, charged the commander-in-chief of the army, the Duke of York, with having permitted a lady named Clarke to sell commissions at reduced prices, and to appropriate the money thus raised to the maintenance of the duke's establishment. During the proceedings on the case, it appeared that the traffic had indeed been carried on, but unknown to his royal highness; and the House came to the decision that the charges of "personal corruption and connivance at corruption," were wholly unfounded. The duke, however, thought fit to resign his office, which Sir David Dundas was appointed to fill.

England had to lament, in the early part of this year, the deposition of Gustavus IV. of Sweden, her old and faithful ally. Secret discontent had long existed among the subjects of that monarch, and it began to manifest itself openly, when

the proposals of peace, made by France, were rejected by the king. The public dissatisfaction was augmented by the loss of Pomerania and Finland, and by several unpopular measures. Civil war was on the point of breaking out: the king had fixed the 10th of March for the day of his departure to oppose the rebels; his soldiers had set out, and the officers had received orders to join them immediately. In that crisis, after all the council had in vain entreated the king to conclude a peace, the Field-marshal Klinsport and General Adlercreutz waited on his majesty and told him, "that an end must be put to all the horrors he had commanded; that their duty as Swedes was to save their country, which was dearer to them than any other object, and that he must either cede to their entreaties or cease to reign." The king answered that he would never yield, and drew his sword to pierce General Adlercreutz; but at the same instant eight or ten other persons entered, having at their head the marshal of the court, Siffversparre, who said, "Sire, your sword was given you to draw against the enemies of the nation, not against loyal Swedes, who only seek their country's happiness and yours," and at the same time he seized the sword. The king attempted to escape by flight, but was overtaken and conducted the same evening to the castle of Drottningholm, where he was closely guarded. On the 29th of March, he signed an act of abdication, addressed to the senate. His uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, was proclaimed regent, and shortly after sovereign of Sweden, by the name of Charles XIII. The Prince of Augustenburg was elected crown-prince, and a new constitution was formed for the Swedish monarchy. By a decree of the diet of Sweden in the following year, the ex-King Gustavus and his posterity were forever banished the Swedish territory, and forbidden to re-enter it under pain of death. Gustavus afterwards came into England, where he travelled under the title of Count Gottorp.

Shortly after the accession of Charles XIII., a treaty was concluded between him and the Emperor Alexander, by which Finland was ceded to the latter. Peace was also proclaimed between Denmark and Sweden, and between France and Sweden. By the treaty with France, Swedish Pomerania and the principality of Rugen were restored to Sweden, and Charles agreed to close his ports against British commerce. A treaty of peace and alliance, between the King of England and the Spanish authorities acting in the name of Ferdinand, was concluded in February, his British majesty

engaging to assist in expelling the French from Spain; and Sir Arthur Wellesley was despatched to take the command of the British army in the Peninsula, which by reinforcements had been increased to 34,000 men.

The French, meanwhile, had not been inactive: Corunna, Bilboa, and all the most important places on the northern coast of Spain had fallen into their hands. Saragossa had been subdued, (Feb. 21,) and, after a defence unparalleled in modern history, compelled to surrender at discretion. Marshal Soult had left Galicia, and having entered Portugal, had made himself master of Oporto. To dislodge him from that city was Sir Arthur's first object on reaching Lisbon; wherefore, having stationed a sufficient force in the neighbourhood to guard against any attack, he marched in April for Oporto, drove the enemy thence, and then returned to join Cuesta and advance with him against Victor. While Sir Arthur was engaged in the north, that general had taken Alcantara, whence he drove 600 of Sir Robert Wilson's legion and a troop of Portuguese infantry. Upon the approach of Sir Arthur, the French general, who, in taking Alcantara, had only proposed to make a diversion in favour of Soult, abandoned his conquest, and stationed his army in the neighbourhood of Caçares. The patriot armies were at the same time equally successful against the French commanders in the north. After his return from Oporto, Sir A. Wellesley remained for some weeks at Lisbon, trying to strike out a plan of co-operation with the Spanish generals. During this period, Victor's army was joined by that of Sebastiana, and by 45,000 men, under Joseph Bonaparte; thus reinforced, they took post on the banks of the Aberche, in the vicinity of Talavera de la Reyna.

The result of the conferences at Lisbon was, that the united forces of Sir Arthur and Cuesta should march to attack the central French forces, and to take possession of Madrid. On Saturday, the 22d of July, the armies of Victor and of the confederates were within sight of each other. Sir Arthur Wellesley made dispositions to give battle on the following day; but Cuesta protesting against this intended violation of the day of rest, the English commander deferred the execution of his purpose; and Victor retreated on the evening of the 23d, to form a closer junction with the other divisions of the French central army. Cuesta pursued him, but the British troops, wanting means of transport, were obliged to remain stationary. The advanced guard of Cuesta

was attacked on the 25th at Torrijas, and the Spanish general, finding his force much inferior to that of the enemy, fell back on the Aberche. Several partial engagements, fought during the course of that day and night, terminated in favour of the British troops. At three o'clock next morning, July 26th, an eminence held by General Hill was ineffectually attacked by the enemy. About noon, the action became general, and before the close of day, the French were repulsed, with the loss of 10,000 men. They retreated across the Aberche, leaving twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the combined army.

The news of this victory excited great joy in England: its achiever was raised to the peerage, and entitled Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington, in the county of Somerset. But the Spanish central junta, still careless and improvident, neglected to supply his army with necessaries; and the brave soldiers who had conquered at Talavera, suffered such extreme want, as led to sickness and consequent dejection. While in this state of languid helplessness, they were apprized that Soult, Ney, and Mortier, with an army of 30,000, were advancing through Estramadura, with the intention of falling on the rear of the British army; it was therefore deemed necessary to commence a retreat. Cuesta was left at Talavera with the sick and wounded, to the number of 15,000; the greater part of whom, on being driven from that position, he was obliged to leave in the hands of the French. His own ill health and infirmities affording a plea for retirement, he resigned, and was replaced by General Eguia. Lord Wellington continued his retrograde movement till he reached Badajoz. The remainder of the campaign was most disastrous to the patriots; their armies were defeated in every direction. The increasing success of the French awakening the fears of the junta, they issued a proclamation for assembling the National Cortes on the 1st of January, 1810.

The alienation which had for some time existed between England and America, was increased by a mis-statement of Mr. Erskine, the English ambassador to the United States. He assured the American government, that if it issued a proclamation for the renewal of intercourse with England, the orders in council would be repealed. Mr. Madison, who had succeeded Mr. Jefferson in the office of president, consented to the proposed measure; but the English ministry

refused to repeal the orders, asserting that they had, indeed, permitted Mr. Erskine to treat with the American government, but on a basis different from that which he had laid down. The American government, in turn, renewed the non-importation act,* and much mutual recrimination ensued.

Bonaparte, in the mean while, had reached Paris, and found the intelligence, which had been conveyed to him in Spain, as to the hostile preparations of Austria, to be correct. Her landwehr, or militia, had been called out for the first time; independently of which, the regular troops of the empire, divided into nine corps, consisted of at least 200,000 men, commanded by the Archduke Charles in person. Bonaparte, on his side, assembled troops to an immense amount, by new levies from the interior of France, and by ordering his generals to advance, at the head of their respective divisions, towards the Danube. The Kings of Bavaria and Saxony, and the Princes of the Rhenish confederation were called upon for their contingents, and even the Emperor of Russia was induced to assume a hostile attitude towards his late ally. The expected declaration of war was issued by Austria on the 8th of April, and on the following day the Archduke Charles crossed the Inn and entered Bavaria. The French emperor left Paris to take the command of the grand army on the 12th of April, and, with his usual rapidity of movements, arrived on the 17th at Donauwerth. On the 20th, he routed a division of 60,000 men, commanded by the Archduke Lewis, and General Hiller, at Abensburg; and the next day gained a more important victory at Eckmühl over four corps, under the orders of the Archduke Charles, who, himself, narrowly escaped capture. Resolving to follow up these early successes, Napoleon advanced with such extreme rapidity upon Vienna as to defy the archduke's efforts to outmarch him: the Austrians, therefore, limited their hopes to gaining the bridges across the Danube, and defending the city by a battle under its walls. On the 10th of May, Bonaparte appeared before Vienna. The citizens, stimulated to resistance by the Archduke Maximilian, sustained a bombardment for twenty-four hours; but at the expiration of that time surrendered. The Emperor Francis had previously fled to Znaim. News of the surrender of Vienna obliged the

* Previous to the negotiation with Mr. Erskine, the American government had adopted a system of non-intercourse and non-importation towards France and England, and removed the embargo, with respect to all other nations.

Archduke Charles to alter his plans: he, therefore, moved with a force of 75,000 men along the north side of the Danube, to prevent the French from crossing the river. Napoleon, at the same time, marched on the south bank to a place six miles below the city, where the stream is broken by two islands, resolving to cross the river at that point. He passed by means of pontoons from island to island, almost without interruption, and secured a position on the north side; posting his right wing at the village of Essling, and his left at that of Aspern. The Archduke Charles now resolved to make a general attack, and ordered his troops to dislodge the French from the two villages. After a most sanguinary conflict, the Austrians succeeded in gaining Aspern; they also defeated the main body of the French army; but their efforts against Essling were ineffectual, and the day closed without their having gained that village. During the engagement, the bridges which the French had constructed across the Danube were destroyed, as the Austrians say, by fire-ships sent down the river by the archduke for that purpose; or, as the French assert, by timber which floated down from Vienna. In the morning, the battle was renewed; it continued, with various success, during the day; but at night the French retreated to the isle of Lobau, abandoning all their positions on the north bank of the Danube and leaving 30,000 men dead on the field of battle. This was the severest check Napoleon had hitherto met with, in his victorious career; he had been exposed several times to the greatest personal danger. The risk was once so imminent, from the heavy discharge of artillery around him, that General Walter was compelled to exclaim, "Sire, withdraw, or I will have you carried hence by my grenadiers." The emperor was much affected on hearing of the fate of Marshal Lannes, who had received a mortal wound; and during the fortnight that general survived, was constant in paying him a daily visit. While these events were passing on the Danube, and Dresden and Leiz were taken by the Archduke Ferdinand, Padua and Vicenza submitted to the Archduke John, who commanded in Italy. The last named cities, however, were soon retaken by the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnais, who forced the Austrians to recross the Adige: the archduke retreated into Hungary, and the viceroy hastened to reinforce the army of Napoleon, which was considerably weakened by his late defeat. Several weeks were spent in preparing, on both sides, to renew the conflict. The Isle of Lobau was strongly fortified by the French; and bridges, one of which was of sixty arches, were

constructed to connect it with the northern bank of the Danube, where the archduke was raising works to prevent the enemy from passing the river. Napoleon, to deceive the archduke, made his chief preparations to effect a passage opposite the Austrian redoubts; but on the night of the 4th of July, he crossed the Danube in another direction, and ranged his army next morning in order of battle, at the extremity of the archduke's left, thus rendering the Austrian redoubts useless. On the 6th was fought the decisive battle of Wagram, the success of which was principally owing to the skill of Napoleon, who, by directing his chief force against the archduke's centre, drove back that part, and separated it from the right wing, which, being thus isolated, was forced to surrender. The Archduke John came up at the close of the action, but too late to turn the scale of victory, which evidently leaned to the standard of Napoleon; he therefore retreated, without having taken any part in the contest, towards Presburg. The field was covered with innumerable dead, and the French took 20,000 prisoners. The Archduke Charles, in retreating towards Bohemia, was pursued by them, and again defeated at Znaym. These multiplied reverses induced the Emperor Francis to sue for peace; an armistice was signed on the 12th of July, Vienna and several other cities remaining in possession of the French, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty.

News of the defeat of his generals by Wellington at Talavera, reached Napoleon at Vienna, towards the end of July. Shortly afterwards, a German, named Stapps, made several attempts to gain access to the emperor; but the singularity of his demeanour excited suspicions which led to his arrest. A large knife was found upon his person, and he confessed it had been his intention to kill the emperor, whom he looked upon as the scourge of his country. The dread of assassination induced Napoleon to hasten the negotiations for peace, which were brought to a conclusion on the 14th of October; France, as usual on such occasions, acquired a considerable increase of territory, and the Princes of the Rhenish confederation shared in the spoils of the vanquished; even Russia was rewarded with an additional province for having sent an army of 30,000 men towards her frontiers. Besides these several dismemberments of her territory, Austria agreed to pay a considerable indemnity towards defraying the expenses of the war, acceded to all the alterations already made, or to be hereafter made in Italy and the Peninsula, and concurred in the prohibitory system, by which Napoleon sought to ruin the

commerce of Great Britain. The Emperor Francis consented, moreover, (though without making a stipulation to that effect in the treaty,) to give up the Tyrol to Bavaria. The inhabitants of that district had tried, during the war, to assert their national independence in connexion with Austria, under the banners of their celebrated chief, Hofer. They still refused to bend to the yoke of Bavaria, and maintained, for some time, an arduous and often successful struggle, but were finally subdued, and their patriotic chief was seized and executed.

England, meanwhile, ever ready to extend the hand of friendship to any nation that declared itself the enemy of France, had sought to effect a diversion in favour of Austria in two different quarters. A division of British troops in Sicily was ordered to embark for Naples and to reduce Calabria; but no permanent advantage was gained by the attempt. An enterprise of far greater moment occupied the attention of the nation during the summer. Extensive preparations were made for fitting out a formidable armament, consisting of thirty-nine ships of the line, and thirty-six frigates, besides a great number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, with other small craft, and near 40,000 land-forces, destined for the purpose of gaining possession of the islands in the Scheld, and destroying the French ships in that river, as well as the arsenals of Antwerp and Flushing. The fleet sailed on the 28th of July, under the orders of Sir Richard Strachan. The command of the land-forces was confided to Lord Chatham. On the 1st of August, Flushing was invested, and after sustaining a heavy cannonade and bombardment, surrendered on the 15th, the garrison, consisting of 6,000 men, remaining prisoners. The islands of Schowen and Beveland were taken, and the Zealanders seemed disposed to favour the British cause. But the English commander neglected to follow up these successes. Most of the troops were left on board the transports, instead of being employed against the forts on the Scheld, till the sickness, which usually prevails in those parts during the autumnal season, seized and disabled them; and till the French had collected a large army for the defence of Antwerp, and moved their shipping far up the river. Early in September, the British troops evacuated every part of Zealand except the island of Walcheren, the fortifications of which were repaired with much labour and expense. A malignant fever, however, made dreadful ravages among the troops, and it became necessary, in order to prevent the entire destruction of the armament, to abandon Walcheren also. Such was the issue of this expensive and

unfortunate expedition. But these disasters and disappointments were not without alleviation: in other quarters the British navy maintained its wonted superiority. Early in April, a gallant and successful attack was made by Lords Gambier and Cochrane on a French squadron, of which four ships of the line were destroyed. In October, Captain Hallowell captured the whole of a French convoy in the bay of Rosas. The island of Martinico, and the city of St. Domingo, in the West Indies, the isles of Bourbon, Zante, Cephalonia, Cerigo, and St. Maura, fell under the dominion of Great Britain, and the septinsular republic was restored. The colony of Cayenne was taken by a combined force of English and Portuguese.

During his residence in Vienna, Bonaparte issued a decree, announcing that, from the 1st of June, the papal territories should form a part of the French empire, and Rome be a free imperial city. The states of the Church, Napoleon averred, were fiefs granted by his predecessor, Charlemagne, to the Bishops of Rome; it was now his pleasure to resume them, this measure being necessary for the security of his army and the prosperity of his empire. It was in vain that Pius VII. protested against this decree, and published a bull, by which, without naming the emperor individually, he excommunicated the promoters and abettors of so unjust a spoliation; this measure made no alteration in the designs of Napoleon. On the 6th of July, before two o'clock in the morning, a troop of French soldiers, under the command of General Radet, beset the palace of the Sovereign Pontiff; and, being assisted by the gendarmerie and some Romans of the lowest class, disarmed the papal guard, who had been forbidden to make any resistance, and got possession of the principal entrance. Having broken down the door which led to the apartments of the Pope and of Cardinal Pacca, they advanced into the presence of his Holiness, who, being awakened by the tumult of the assault, had dressed himself, and with perfect composure awaited the issue of this new aggression. Around him were assembled Cardinals Despuiget and Pacca, together with several prelates and ecclesiastics. The general, on entering, turned pale, and stood for some moments silent, near the door, in front of his troops: he then advanced, and with a trembling voice informed the Pope that a very disagreeable and painful commission had devolved upon him; but having taken an oath of fidelity to the emperor, he felt bound to execute it; that he was charged to demand from his Holiness,

in the name of his imperial majesty, the renunciation of his temporal sovereignty; that, in case of refusal, he had orders to conduct the Pope to the quarters of the general-in-chief, Miollis,* who would acquaint him with his ulterior destination. To this address his Holiness calmly replied; "If you think yourself obliged on account of your oath to execute such orders from your emperor, do you think we can abandon the rights of the Holy See, which by so many oaths we are bound to obtain? We cannot renounce what does not belong to us. The emperor may take our life, but he will never oblige us to retract what we have done." Then, rising from his seat, and putting his breviary under his arm, he advanced towards the door, where General Radet's carriage stood in readiness; his Holiness entered it, accompanied by Cardinal Pacca; it was then about three o'clock in the morning. After following for some time a circuitous route, they drove out of Rome by the Porta del Popolo. As they stopped to change horses, the Pope mildly reproached Radet with having deceived him. Why, he asked, instead of conducting him to the Palais Doria, where Miollis resided, had the general thus compelled him to quit Rome, without attendants, and even without other garments than those in which he was actually attired. Radet attempted a few words of excuse, and replied, that his Holiness would speedily be rejoined by his suite, who would carefully provide every thing that was necessary. On resuming the journey, the Pope asked Cardinal Pacca, if, in the hurry of departure, he had thought of bringing away any money. Both drew out their purses; in that of his Holiness they found one *papetto*,† in the cardinal's three *grossi*.‡ Showing his solitary *papetto* to General Radet, the Pope said, smiling, "Of all our principality, see what you have left us!" He replied with modest dignity to the affecting demonstrations of grief and veneration which he met with from all classes of his subjects; and often repeated this simple but sublime recommendation, "Courage and prayer!" On arriving at the Chartreuse of Florence, he was conducted

* In removing the Pope from Rome, Miollis seems to have acted on his own responsibility, without having received precise orders to that effect from Napoleon, who had only charged him to maintain tranquillity in Rome. As Radet refused to act without a written order, Miollis gave him one, but so covered with erasures and alterations as to be almost illegible. In it, Radet was commanded to arrest Cardinal Pacca, the Pope's principal minister; in case of opposition, his Holiness also, and conduct them both to Florence.

† About eleven pence.

‡ Nearly eight pence.

to the apartment occupied, ten years before, by his venerable predecessor. His Holiness was then in a state of great suffering; the burning heat of a midday sun, in the month of July, and in a closed carriage, had brought on the first attack of a serious indisposition. A short period of repose seemed indispensably necessary; but Colonel Boisard arriving the same evening, with orders from Elisa Baciocche Bonaparte, who then governed in Tuscany, for his immediate removal, the august captive was compelled on the following day to resume his journey, unaccompanied by Cardinal Pacca. At a short distance from Florence, the heat being intense, the Pope requested a glass of water. The multitude who surrounded the carriage at every halting-place, vied with each other who should be so fortunate as to supply this demand. "From me, from me, Holy Father!" was heard on all sides. "From all, my children, from all," replied the venerable old man, with tears in his eyes. On many occasions a word, a look would have insured his deliverance: the small troop of soldiers composing his escort would quickly have been overpowered by a numerous and resolute peasantry. A chivalrous youth who had forced his way through the crowd to present some choice fruit to his Holiness, made the offer in two energetic words, "Vuole? Dica!" But the Pope would not run the risk of bloodshed, and, affectionately entreating the multitude to disperse, continued his route towards Alexandria, where he arrived on the 15th. On the 21st he reached Grenoble, where he was to make a short stay. The heroes who had so nobly defended Saragossa, and were there detained prisoners of war, demanded permission to go in a body to meet him; their example was followed by the entire population of the city and suburbs. At the beginning of August, Colonel Boisard had orders to conduct the Pope to Valence, and thence to Avignon. His entry into the latter city, which had been so long under the dominion of the Holy See, resembled a triumph; the inhabitants crowded round the carriage, which had stopped in the middle of the chief square; and so great was the concourse from the neighbouring villages, that the mayor found it necessary, by closing the city gates, to prevent their entrance. At Nice, arrangements were made to give his Holiness a suitable reception. On approaching the Pont du Var, he alighted from his carriage to cross the bridge on foot: he advanced alone, his attendants following him at a short distance. The scene was singularly impressive; ten thousand persons were on their knees in

profound silence on the opposite side, each occupying his destined station, the nobles wearing their decorations, the ecclesiastics the dress peculiar to their order. The pious Queen of Etruria, between her two children, implored his blessing with tears. "How altered are the times!" she exclaimed. "True," replied Pius, "but all is not bitterness: we are no longer, O my daughter, at Rome nor at Florence, yet see these people, listen to their acclamations!" The streets of the city were strewed with flowers at his entrance every night during his stay, the houses were splendidly illuminated, and sacred hymns were sung in music beneath his windows. On setting out for Savona, as it was thought expedient to choose an unfrequented road through the mountains, and the Sovereign Pontiff travelled by night, a lady of distinction conceived the ingenious idea of sending out servants to illuminate his path, by hanging lamps on the trees; this example was followed by others, and finally by order of the municipal authorities. On arriving at Savona, the Pope was at first lodged in the mansion of a family of the name of Santon; but five days later, the episcopal palace, from which the bishop removed, was assigned for his residence. He had but two small rooms for his own private use; his table, however, to which he was at liberty to invite whom he pleased, was handsomely served, and Count Salmatoris waited on him daily to take his orders. Such was his position during the rest of this, and the whole of the two following years.

Though Napoleon appeared to despise the excommunication issued against the authors and abettors of the recent spoliations, the indifference he affected was not sincere. He ordered a list to be drawn up for his inspection, of all the princes who had been under a similar sentence. A project of a very important nature, however, now occupied his thoughts. The birth of an heir to the widely-extended empire over which he ruled, seemed alone necessary to give stability to the dynasty he had founded, and, for this purpose, the dissolution of his marriage with Josephine was indispensable as a preliminary step. The empress, though reluctant, was induced to yield her consent; and all the princes and princesses of the imperial family being assembled, with the Arch-chancellor Cambacérès, in the emperor's cabinet, a decree dissolving the marriage was signed by all present. The senate passed a law authorizing the act, in December: Josephine was to retain the title of empress, and to receive an annual revenue of 2,000,000 francs.

In September, some changes took place in the English ministry, from which the Duke of Portland withdrew on the plea of age and infirmity. Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning also resigned, and were succeeded, in their respective posts, by the Earl of Liverpool and the Marquis of Wellesley. Mr. Percival, who was at the head of the new administration, united the office of first lord of the treasury with that of chancellor of the exchequer. The 25th of October being the fiftieth anniversary of his majesty's accession, the day was celebrated throughout the kingdom as a jubilee, with marked demonstrations of loyalty and affection. To occasional attacks of his mental malady, was added an almost total privation of sight: afflictions which rendered the king an object equally worthy of commiseration and respect.

CHAPTER XLIX.

EUROPE, FROM THE PEACE OF VIENNA, IN 1809, TO THE WAR WITH RUSSIA, IN 1812.

THE Parliament of Great Britain resumed its sittings in January, 1810. The king's speech having been read by commission, a warm debate ensued, relative to the peninsular war and the expedition to the Scheld; the usual addresses were, however, carried, as well as a vote of thanks to Lord Wellington and his army, for the bravery displayed by them at Talavera. The questions of Catholic emancipation and of Parliamentary reform were again agitated, during this session; but the advocates for concession were far outnumbered by their opponents, and both of these important measures were negatived by large majorities. An incident occurred, not long after the meeting of Parliament, which attracted for a time the attention of the public. Sir Francis Burdett published an address to his constituents, denying the right of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England. This publication was voted a scandalous and seditious libel, and orders were issued to the sergent-at-arms to take the author into custody. Sir Francis, however, disputed the legality of the speaker's warrant, and avowed his intention not to submit, unless compelled by force. On the 9th of April, the sergent-at-arms, with a party of police and a detachment of military, forced an entrance into the baronet's house, and conveyed

him to the Tower. The escort, on its return, was attacked by the populace; several shots were fired, and two or three persons lost their lives. At the prorogation of Parliament, Sir Francis was liberated, and a triumphal procession from the Tower to his house in Piccadilly was planned by his friends; but he disappointed their expectations, returning privately by water, in order to avoid any occasion of further mischief.

The affairs of Spain, at the close of 1809, seemed almost desperate. The defeat of the central army, under General Areizaga, was followed by that of the left, commanded by the Duke Del Parque, and of the right, under the orders of Blake. The French main army, under Joseph Bonaparte, Soult, and Victor, forced the passes of the Sierra Morena in January, and took Andujar and Cordova, while a division commanded by Sebastiani entered Granada. Malaga was reduced shortly after, and completed a line of posts in possession of the French. The approach of the enemy induced the Supreme Junta to remove to Cadiz. The members of that body were suspected of a willingness to compromise with Joseph Bonaparte; and on the day of their departure, the people of Seville rose tumultuously, demanding their deposition, and calling upon General Romana to defend the city. Instead of complying with the requisition, he proceeded to Badajoz, and Seville, unprepared for resistance, surrendered in February to Victor. Large stores of ammunition and 200 pieces of ordnance fell, on this occasion, into the hands of the French, who now began to make formidable preparations for the siege of Cadiz. The junta refused to admit 7,000 British troops for the defence of that city: two regiments only were allowed to enter, on condition that they should not be employed in the fortress. The Duke of Albuquerque, at the head of a Spanish army, arrived in the Isle of Leon, before the French could reach it, and made every preparation for a vigorous defence. The suspicions against the junta induced that body to transfer its authority to a regency, composed of five persons, who, however, were only to act till the Cortes should assemble, and who, from the outset, were placed in a very embarrassing position. They issued their orders in the name of a captive prince, and had not the power to enforce their execution, in a country occupied or traversed on all sides by hostile armies. In the mean while, the French took possession of a fortress about two miles from Cadiz, where they erected works; and before the close of the year, they were enabled to throw shells

into the city; the distance, however, rendered their effect inconsiderable.

In the other parts of Spain the war was carried on with great activity; the French were constantly harassed by the desultory operations of the guerillas; often vanquished, but never subdued, the hardy mountaineers of the Alpujarras in Granada, were ever on the alert against the invaders. In Navarre, Biscay, and Asturias, patriotic insurrections were organized, and leaders sprang up to train the peasantry. Under the assumed names of *El Pastor*, *El Manco*, *El Empecinado*, several signalized themselves by turns in this desultory warfare. A Spanish force captured Ronda, but an expedition undertaken by the English against Malaga entirely failed; and the commander, Lord Blaney, was made prisoner. On the other hand, Marshal Suchet, after gaining great advantages in Catalonia and Arragon, was defeated with considerable loss by General Caro.

The disasters of the Spanish commanders in the early part of the year, had obliged Lord Wellington to remove his army from Badajoz to the north of the Tagus, and to confine his views for a time to the defence of Portugal. He chose a strong position at Torres Vedras, which having fortified, and thus provided for retreat and embarkation, should they become necessary, he advanced to watch the movements of Ney, Soult, and Regnier, who were stationed in Leon. His army consisted of 30,000 British, and 60,000 native troops. Ciudad Rodrigo was invested by Ney on the 11th of June. About that time Marshal Massena arrived with 80,000 men from Paris, to take the command of the army destined for the conquest of Portugal. The advanced guard of the British forces was repulsed, and Ciudad Rodrigo surrendered to the enemy in July. Almeida, with a garrison of 5,000 men, English and Portuguese, was next invested, and compelled to open its gates to the invaders in August. Massena now advanced into Portugal; Lord Wellington retreated before him towards Coimbra, purposing to concentrate his forces in that neighbourhood, and there oppose the march of the French. He passed to the right of the Mondego, and occupied, with his centre and right, the Sierra Busaco, a ridge of hills, extending to that river. Massena arriving in front of his position on the 26th of August, resolved on an attack, which he carried into effect the following day. The French pushed up the hill with great resolution, and one division reached the summit of the ridge; but they were

repulsed at the point of the bayonet. The Portuguese troops, under Marshal Beresford, rendered efficient aid on this occasion. After this action, Lord Wellington, finding that Massena had gained the road from Oporto to Coimbra, continued to retreat till he reached the lines of Torres Vedras, about thirty miles from Lisbon, carrying with him almost the whole population of the intervening country, including that of Coimbra. Much individual distress was caused by this measure, but it was relieved by liberal contributions in Lisbon and in England. Massena having reconnoitred the lines of Torres Vedras, and ascertained the impracticability of forcing them, withdrew to a fortified position at Santarem, where he remained during the winter. His army suffered many privations and inconveniences, from which the British, with the capital and an open sea behind them, were exempt. Such were the respective positions of the invaders and defenders of Portugal at the end of the year.

The National Cortes of Spain assembled in September, in the isle of Leon ; the regency was dissolved in the following month, and the government intrusted to an executive council of three members. Among other enactments, the Cortes passed a decree in favour of the liberty of the press, and conferred upon the inhabitants of Spanish America, the privilege of sending members to the national representation. But this concession did not suffice to secure their allegiance : and this year witnessed the first outbreak of that revolt which has since caused so much disorder and bloodshed. The spirit of discontent first manifested itself in the colony of Caraccas. Other provinces joined in asserting their independence, and, in April, a union was formed, under the name of the American Confederation of Venezuela. The city and great part of the province of Buenos Ayres took part in the revolt, while Monte Video continued faithful to Spain ; this circumstance gave rise to a sanguinary war between the two states.

The conquests achieved by the British navy, in 1810, were of considerable importance. Guadaloupe, the only island still remaining to the French in the West Indies, was taken in February by Sir J. Beckwith. During the same month, Amboyna was taken from the Dutch, by a British force from Madras ; and in August, the isle of Banda, though protected by 700 regular troops and 300 militia, surrendered to an English frigate, the *Carolina*, affording a rich booty to the captors. To this acquisition was added that of the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius : the French batteries at Madagas-

car were destroyed; and at the close of the year, France possessed not a single foot of land in the East or West Indies, nor a ship in the Indian seas. But these advantages to England were counterbalanced, in a great measure, by the daily-increasing power of Bonaparte on the continent. His grand aim at this epoch was to form an alliance conducive to the stability of his dynasty; and his marriage with Maria Louisa, the eldest daughter of the Emperor of Austria, to the astonishment of all Europe, was accomplished without difficulty. The espousals were celebrated at Vienna, on the 11th of March, the Archduke Charles receiving the hand of his niece as proxy for his late antagonist. The empress-elect immediately set out for France, and was met by Napoleon at Compeigne. The civil contract was signed at St. Cloud on the 1st of April, and on the following day the religious ceremony took place in the chapel of the Louvre. In order to proceed to a second marriage, it had been necessary to declare the first invalid; for which purpose, the archiepiscopal see being vacant, two new ecclesiastical courts were called into existence, by the sole authority of the emperor, who positively declined having recourse to the Pope. The union of Napoleon with Josephine had not been sanctioned by the church, until the eve of their joint coronation, and then so privately as to exclude even the presence of witnesses. On this circumstance, and on the absence of the proper pastor, the first of these courts grounded a decision favourable to the divorce. All the necessary dispensations had, it is true, been granted by the Pope, at the solicitation of Cardinal Fesch on that occasion; but the court might justly consider as *not proved*, a fact which rested on the assertion of one individual, unsupported either by documentary evidence or by living witnesses. The second court came to a similar conclusion, on the plea that the emperor's interior consent, as he alleged, had been wanting, and that, considering the marriage-ceremony performed in his cabinet null, he had gone through it merely to gratify Josephine. There were, however, many among the cardinals* whom the reasons of the two courts failed to satisfy; and though all, to the number of twenty-six, assisted at the civil contract, thirteen absented themselves from the religious ceremony, alleging, as their only motive, that the dissolution of the first marriage had not been sanctioned by the Pope. The wrath of the emperor on

* All the cardinals who were not disabled by age or infirmity had been compelled to quit Italy and reside in Paris.

this occasion was extreme; he not only forbade them to appear at court, but obliged them to lay aside the purple, and assume the black dress worn by ordinary clergymen.* A few days later they were banished into various towns of France, and deprived of the revenue that had been assigned them for their maintenance: their slender wants, were, however, abundantly supplied by voluntary contributions.

A remarkable incident took place this year in Sweden. The Prince of Augustenburg, who, upon the deposition of Gustavus IV., had been declared heir to that throne, died suddenly, and a suspicion was excited, that he had been carried off by poison. As the deceased prince was very popular, Count Ferson, who had been his enemy, was dragged from his carriage on the day of the funeral, and torn to pieces by the mob. Government, to appease the people, instituted an inquiry, the result of which was, that the Prince of Augustenburg had died of apoplexy. In August the diet assembled, to elect another successor to the throne. The candidates were four in number; the son of the deposed monarch, the King of Denmark, the brother of the late crown-prince, and Bernadotte. The reasons which induced the States to give the preference to the French marshal, are involved in mystery; it seems probable that the emperor favoured the election, as he generously allowed Bernadotte a sum of 2,000,000 francs to meet the expenses of his installation. Some misunderstanding had, however, occurred between them, relative to the battle of Ratisbon during the Austrian campaign, and Bernadotte was not unwilling to transfer his services where they were likely to be better appreciated. In his domestic, as well as in his foreign policy, the views of Bonaparte were singularly despotic. Pursuing his system of annexations, he compelled his brother Louis, by a series of insults and encroachments, to abdicate the crown of Holland; and the Seven Provinces were forthwith added to the empire of France. Louis, during his short reign, had studied the interests and gained the affection of his people, and his departure from

* Hence arose the designation of *black* and *red* cardinals, which for some time distinguished the firm from the more temporizing. The *black* cardinals were Mattei, Pignatelli, La Somaglia, Scotti, Saluzzo, Galeffi, Brancadoro, Consalvi, Louis Ruffo, Litta, Di Pietro, Opizzoni, and Gabrielli. Cardinal Pacca was still a prisoner at Fenestrelles, whither he had been conveyed when separated from the Pope at Florence: he remained in captivity three years and a half; it was during his ministry that the bull of excommunication had been published.

among them was a subject of regret to all. The Hanse towns, with the whole of the coast, from the Elbe to the Ems, were likewise incorporated with France. The Electorate of Hanover was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, and the conscription laws were extended, as well to that as to all the other kingdoms of recent creation. While these arbitrary measures were enforced by the French emperor, the King of England experienced a return of the malady under which he had suffered in 1789, and of which he had in 1801 and in 1804 transient attacks. The death of his youngest and favourite daughter, Amelia, caused him such poignant affliction, as to occasion a relapse into that state of mental aberration which clouded the latter years of his reign and life. Parliament had been three times prorogued in the hope of his recovery, when the continuation of his indisposition suggested to ministers the necessity of vesting the royal powers, with certain restrictions, in the Prince of Wales. Notwithstanding the objections raised by the opposition, who wished to invest the regent with the full exercise of the royal prerogative, resolutions for a restricted regency were carried, and a deputation from both Houses informed the prince of the decision. He accepted the proffered trust, though not without objecting to the restrictions with which it was accompanied. The care of the king's person and the management of his household were committed to the queen.

1811.—The domestic affairs of Great Britain, during this first year of the regency, wore a gloomy and unpromising aspect. The extent of commercial distress, caused by the extraordinary rigour with which the continental system was enforced, in all the countries where the influence of France extended, was so great as to induce Parliament to appoint a committee to concert measures of relief. On its recommendation, the sum of £6,000,000 was allotted, to be advanced to such merchants as should apply for it, and give security for its repayment. In Ireland, the system of domestic policy adopted by the regent was a source of keen disappointment. The Catholics of Great Britain in general, and of Ireland in particular, had hoped that the accession of the Prince of Wales to power would have brought them a redress of grievances; yet they found him retaining a ministry, avowedly hostile to the concession of their claims. They resolved, therefore, to address Parliament and the regent, on the continued existence of the disqualifying statutes, and purposed forming a general committee, to prepare their petitions. The

Irish government, however, issued a proclamation, prohibiting the election of Catholic delegates, and ordering the arrest and prosecution of electors. The Catholics, notwithstanding, assembled on the 31st of July; upon which five persons who had assisted at the meeting were arrested, and bound over to stand their trial for the violation of the Convention Act. On that of Dr. Sheridan, who was one of the prisoners, the chief justice and judges varied with the jury as to the verdict to be given. The former conceived that he had, the latter that he had not violated the Convention Act. He was pronounced "Not guilty," and the Catholics continued to meet; but government, judging that Sheridan's acquittal was owing to a defect of evidence, instituted proceedings against Mr. Kirwin, another of the arrested delegates, who was declared guilty; whereupon the Catholic committee ceased to exist as a delegated body.

To these scenes of domestic dissension, the ascendancy acquired by Englishmen in foreign countries presents a striking contrast. In August a splendid acquisition was made to the British empire in Asia, by the reduction of Batavia, the capital of the Dutch settlements in the East Indies, with the island of Java, in which it is situated. The Governor-general of India, Lord Minto, planned and accompanied the expedition. The British troops landed unopposed, and having lodged themselves in the suburbs, the burghers surrendered the city, which had been previously evacuated by the garrison. The Dutch army, amounting to 10,000 men, was greatly superior in numbers to the English, and lay entrenched in a strong position, between the river Jacatra and an artificial canal, neither of which was fordable; seven redoubts and many batteries mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most elevated grounds within the lines. The Dutch commander-in-chief, General Jansen, was in one of them, when the assault was made by the British: the seven redoubts were carried at the point of the bayonet, and the assailants rushing in at every point, the whole of the Dutch army was killed, taken, or dispersed; the loss of the English scarcely amounting to 900 men. General Jansen, with about 50 horse, the remnant of his 10,000 men, made a feeble attempt at resistance, which terminated in the surrender of himself and his troops, with the island of Java and all its dependencies. This important conquest being completed, not a vestige remained of the Gallo-Batavian dominion in the East.

In the Peninsula, the war was carried on with great activity

and with various success. Early in the year, Soult reduced the strongly-fortified town of Olivenza, and defeated a Spanish army under the orders of Mendozabel, who, the Marquis de Romana being dead, had succeeded to the command. The French general then laid siege to Badajoz, which surrendered in March with its garrison of 7,000 men, not however without having for some time braved the efforts of the besieging army. Massena, meanwhile, maintained his position at Santarem, till the difficulty of procuring provisions obliged him to retreat towards the Spanish frontier. In the night of the 5th of March, he broke up his fortified camp; and by the skill with which he directed the movements of his army, preserved it, though closely pursued by Lord Wellington, from any material disaster. But the French marshal and his soldiers tarnished their military fame, by the cruelties they exercised on their march. On the 4th of April they passed the Portuguese frontier, and, entering Spain, continued their retreat across the Agueda.

After Massena's retreat, Lord Wellington, leaving the command of his army to Sir Brent Spencer, with orders to blockade Almeida, went to visit Marshal Beresford, who commanded a united force of English and Portuguese in Estremadura. He then took a position from whence he could invest Olivenza and Badajoz, which he was extremely desirous to recover from the French. Olivenza surrendered to Marshal Beresford in April, and Lord Wellington, having concerted measures with him for the blockade of Badajoz, returned to his own head-quarters. That city was accordingly invested on the 12th of May; but the news that Soult was advancing to its relief, induced Beresford to withdraw his army from its walls, and march towards the Albuera to meet the enemy. Having been joined by the Spanish corps of Blake and Castanos, he posted his troops on a ridge of ground which overlooks that river. Here he was attacked on the morning of the 16th; the battle was maintained for five hours with such coolness and bravery as to exalt either army in the estimation of the other; but the French were eventually defeated, and Soult retired toward Andalusia. The allies being inferior in cavalry, did not think it prudent to hazard a pursuit. The renewal of the siege of Badajoz was the immediate result of this brilliant, though hard-earned victory. Lord Wellington, who had not been able to reach that city in time for the engagement, arrived before it on the 19th. The siege was now vigorously pushed; the trenches were opened and a breach

was made in fort St. Christoval. On the 6th of June the assault was begun: but the efforts of the assailants were rendered unavailing by the bravery of the besieged. A second assault on the night of the 9th having also failed, and intelligence arriving that Soult and Marmont (to whom Massena, being recalled to Paris, had resigned the command) were advancing with their united forces, Lord Wellington judged it expedient to raise the siege, and withdraw the allied army across the Guadiana. In August he made an unsuccessful attack on Ciudad Rodrigo, and shortly after cantoned his army, which was suffering greatly from sickness, within the Portuguese frontier: the French, under Soult, fell back upon Salamanca, where they remained during the winter months.

The vicinity of Cadiz was the theatre of an engagement highly honourable to the British arms. General Graham, commander of the English forces in that city, finding that part of the besieging army had quitted its environs for Badajoz, which Soult was then blockading, fitted out an expedition in February, consisting of 4,000 British and 7,000 Spanish troops; the command of which was given to Don Manuel Lapena, under whom General Graham consented to serve. The troops embarked on the 18th, and landed on the 23d, at Algeiras. On the 4th of March, General Lapena having, by a well-directed attack on the enemy's position at Santi Petri, succeeded in forming a communication with the isle of Leon, ordered General Graham, whom he had left on the heights of Barossa, to descend, and commit the defence of that post to some Spanish regiments. When the British troops had proceeded halfway down the hill, they were apprized that the French under Victor were making for the heights. The British general, considering that position as the key to Santi Petri, immediately ordered a countermarch, in order to support the troops posted for its defence. Some of his men became entangled in a wood, and before he could extricate them, he saw the Spaniards retiring, and the left wing of the French ascending the heights. Their right still stood upon the plain, and General Graham, to prevent their gaining any further advantages, resolved on making an immediate attack, with the troops under his command. A general battle was the result of this determination; the number of the French engaged in it was 8,000, all well appointed and ably commanded; that of the English was only 3,000; yet in less than an hour and a half Marshal Victor was compelled to retreat, after having sustained considerable loss. But the

English and Spaniards reaped more glory than advantage from their victory; the blockade of Badajoz, which it had been the chief object of the expedition to interrupt, was not impeded by it. The disappointment which resulted from the failure of this enterprise, was aggravated by the death of the Duke d'Albuquerque.

While so large a part of the French armies was thus employed in watching and preventing the designs of the allied troops in the south and west of Spain, another, and not an inconsiderable force, endeavoured to gain the Spanish fortresses in the east. In April, however, that of Figueras, occupied by them, was surprised by a body of Catalonians, and taken without firing a shot, the garrison remaining prisoners. Tarragona was invested by Suchet on the 4th of May; an obstinate defence only protracted its fall. On the 28th of June it was taken by storm, and its brave defenders were massacred by their victors. Every species of outrage and cruelty was suffered on this occasion by the unfortunate Tarragonians. The city was set on fire, and numbers of the inhabitants thrown into the flames. Suchet himself relates, in his official account of this transaction, that 4,000 persons were killed within the walls, and of those who endeavoured to escape, 1,000 were either sabred or drowned, and 10,000 made prisoners. Figueras was, about the same time, retaken by the French under Macdonald. From Tarragona, Suchet entered the province of Valencia and laid siege to Murviedro. General Blake, who had advanced to its relief, was defeated, and the city compelled to surrender. Following up his success, Suchet next besieged Valencia, into which Blake had retreated; after a bombardment of three days, the Spanish general agreed (January 9th, 1812) to a capitulation, by which, though defended by 18,000 troops of the line, that city was surrendered to the French, a great number of officers of rank, with Blake himself, remaining prisoners. Pensacola, a fortress of great strength, a Gibraltar in miniature, was shortly after taken by the French, through the treachery of the governor.

These triumphs of Napoleon's generals failed to bring stability to the throne, or happiness to the mind of him in whose name they were effected. Joseph Bonaparte, wanting the affections of his subjects, and destitute of such pecuniary succours as were necessary to support his regal dignity, fled from Madrid to Paris in a fit of sudden despondency, and, failing to obtain from his imperial brother means to recruit

the Spanish treasury, solicited permission to retire to a private station. A fresh supply of troops and orders to retain his sovereignty were given him by Napoleon. The Cortes continued to sit in the isle of Leon, and to make important changes in the ancient and fundamental laws of the Spanish monarchy. Their South American colonies, in the meanwhile, persevered in asserting their independence, and boldly contended with the royalists, though they failed, during this year, to gain any signal advantage over them. In Mexico, a series of sanguinary engagements terminated in the discomfiture of the patriots.

Amidst the variety of affairs which occupied the attention of the Emperor Napoleon, those of the church were by far the most important and intricate. He had triumphed over the chief continental princes, but the invincible constancy of the feeble and aged Pontiff, whom he still held captive at Savona, placed a barrier to his projects of universal dominion, which he could not remove at the point of the sword. Threats, spoliation, privations of every kind, solitude, and a total separation from all who could advise or console, had been resorted to by the emperor to enforce compliance with his wishes, yet Pius remained firm in his refusal to compromise his conscience and the rights of the Holy See, or to enter into any negotiations with the spoliator, till allowed to take the advice of his spiritual councillors, and restored to the independent exercise of his authority in the city of Rome. The rigours of his captivity were therefore redoubled. On the 11th of January, while taking the air in the garden adjoining the episcopal palace, his apartments were entered by the emperor's emissaries, and searched with the most minute exactness. The seals were set upon every object that bore the slightest trace of handwriting; the Pope's despatches, public as well as private, even his breviaries, were seized, carried away, and sent off to Paris. Count Berthier, who had hitherto filled the office of master of his palace, suddenly disappeared: his place was supplied by a steward, who announced that each Italian composing the household, the Pope included, was in future to receive from the imperial treasury no more than five *paoli* (about twenty pence) a day. This absurd regulation was enforced for seventeen days, during which the inhabitants of Savona enjoyed the advantage of testifying their attachment and veneration for the illustrious captive, by an abundant supply of every thing needful. As these testimonials of respect did not meet the emperor's views, things were re-established

on their former footing; a splendid dinner was daily provided, at which the Pope never appeared, and other necessary expenses duly defrayed from a sort of civil list assigned for the purpose, over which he declined exercising any control. Among the papers seized in January, were found a brief conferring extraordinary powers on the Cardinal di Pietro, and another addressed to Cardinal Maury. From that moment the use of pens and paper was denied to his holiness, and all communications with persons from abroad expressly prohibited; Cardinal Doria, his confessor, and his *Maestro di Camera*, Moiraghi, to whom he was singularly attached, were removed and sent to a distant prison. The Pope endured all these outrages with heroic firmness, and without the slightest mark of pusillanimity or discouragement.

Napoleon, meanwhile, continued to nominate to the vacant sees in Germany, in Italy, and in France. Cardinal Maury was named to the archbishopric of Paris, on the refusal of that dignity by Cardinal Fesch, to whom it had first been offered. The Bishops of Faenza and Nancy, whose subservience to the will of the emperor earned them this distinction, were respectively appointed to the patriarchal and archiepiscopal sees of Venice and Florence. But as the Pope refused to give canonical institution to any of these nominees, the chapters in most instances refused to acknowledge them, and thus drew down on themselves the vengeance of Napoleon, which was seldom braved with impunity. Eight fortresses, converted by him into state prisons, were crowded with persons of every rank, chiefly ecclesiastics, who were immured there on the slightest suspicion, and detained for weeks, months, or years, at the pleasure of the despot. In this state of affairs, Napoleon inquired of the Ecclesiastical Commission, which he convoked anew in March, from whom his bishops were to obtain canonical institution, in case all communication should be interrupted between the Holy See and the subjects of the empire. To discuss this question with greater solemnity, he called together unexpectedly the members of the commission, with the principal theologians, the councillors of state, and the grand dignitaries of the empire. The emperor opened the sitting by declaiming violently against what he termed the obstinacy of the Pope: on a sudden, by one of those abrupt transitions, so familiar to him, he turned to M. Emery, the superior of the Oratorians, then nearly eighty years of age, and said, "What is your opinion of the authority of the Pope?" "Sire," replied that venerable

ecclesiastic, "I can have no other opinion than that which is contained in the catechism taught by your orders in all the churches of France. In answer to the question, 'What is meant by the Pope?' I find this reply, 'The head of the Church, the Vicar of Christ on earth, to whom all Christians owe obedience.'" Napoleon appeared surprised: and, after muttering the word *Catechism*, continued, "I do not contest the spiritual power of the Pope; but his temporal power was conferred on him by Charlemagne, and I, who am the successor of Charlemagne, am resolved to deprive him of it." The Abbé Emery cited Bossuet, who asserts the independence and full liberty of the head of the Church to be essential to the exercise of his spiritual power. To this Napoleon replied, "I do not reject the authority of Bossuet: all that was very true in his time, when Europe was subject to many rulers; but what inconvenience can there be in the Pope's submission to me, now that the continent acknowledges no other master?"* This question was of too personal a nature not to excite a momentary embarrassment; yet the Abbé Emery had the noble courage to reply, that affairs might not always continue in their actual position, and that the inconveniences foreseen by Bossuet might at some future day occur, wherefore it was better not to change an order of things so wisely established. The emperor appeared convinced, and, on rising to withdraw, noticed no one else, but saluted the Abbé Emery with visible marks of esteem and veneration. The counsels of the courageous Abbé were however soon disregarded for the more agreeable dictates of flattery. The idea of appealing to an assembly of prelates, incorrectly termed a national council, charmed the vanity of Napoleon, who, with this view, in his newly-assumed character of emperor of the west, called to Paris the greater part of the bishops of France and Italy. This assembly, which consisted of six cardinals, nine archbishops, and eighty bishops, held its first and only session on the 17th of June. After the usual preliminary ceremonies, Cardinal Fesch, who presided, took

* The celebrated sculptor, Canova, was called to Paris this year to model a statue of the Empress Maria Louisa. Napoleon frequently assisted at the sittings, conversing familiarly with the artist, and was not displeased when that faithful subject of his holiness expostulated with him on the detention of his sovereign. "How!" said Napoleon, "he would not expel the English from his states! he resisted my will, who am the sovereign of sixty millions of subjects!" The statue was no sooner completed than Canova set out for Rome, refusing the dignity of senator, offered him by the emperor.

the oath of fidelity and true obedience to the Holy See: his example was followed by all the other members. This commencement of proceedings was so displeasing to the emperor, that he substituted to the council a commission of twelve bishops; eight of that number continuing to oppose his views, he dissolved the commission and imprisoned the Bishops of Troyes, Ghent, and Tournay, who had most strenuously supported the authority of the Pope. Cardinal Fesch also fell into disgrace with his imperial nephew, and was advised to withdraw to Lyons, of which city he was archbishop. The object of Napoleon, in convoking the council, had been to dissolve the Concordat of 1801, and to take from the Pope the right of confirming, or of refusing to confirm, the nomination of bishops, thus preventing the intrusion of unworthy persons into the government of the Church. The emperor also hoped to intimidate, by the *éclat* of the proceedings and the numbers whom his *fiat* had assembled, the meek and peaceable Pontiff, on whom personal motives could make no impression. But, in all these projects, he was singularly unsuccessful: the convocation of the council only served to render the authority of the Holy See more resplendent; and though a verbal acceptance of a decree presented to his holiness, by a deputation of six prelates, was, by dint of earnest entreaties and exaggerated statements of the danger of a schism, extorted from him; a few hours' reflection sufficed to show him the error into which he had been inadvertently betrayed, and he sent to recall the prelates, but they had already set out for Paris. The concessions thus obtained, were, however, to the inexpressible joy of the good Pope and of all sincere lovers of religion, rejected by Napoleon as insufficient. Pius was left tranquil in his solitude at Savona during the winter months, and the affairs of the Church, after so many plans and so much agitation, remained unaltered.

Besides the occupation thus afforded him, the emperor was intent on raising a navy, which might in time dispute with England the empire of the sea. For this end, the military conscription was changed, in the thirty maritime departments, into a naval one, and seamen from Denmark and various parts of the French empire were sent to man the fleet fitting out at Antwerp. During the summer months, Napoleon made a tour of inspection, and visited the shipping and fortifications of the principal sea-ports. The large and commercial city of Hamburg now formed part of the French empire, to which it had been annexed at the beginning of the year.

Another of Napoleon's favourite plans tended to lessen the number of private seminaries, which were subject to the bishops, and to augment that of the universities, where much pains were taken to give the youth of France a military character. "These priests," said he, in one of his moments of skepticism, "only think of fitting men for the other world: I want soldiers for this." On the 2d of April, his empress gave birth to a son, who was named Napoleon, and entitled King of Rome.

1812.—The Parliament of the United Kingdom assembled on the 7th of January; the regent's speech was delivered by commission. The king being still unable to resume the cares of royalty, and the period allotted for the continuance of restrictions upon the regent's power having expired, the full exercise of the royal prerogative, though not the title of sovereign, devolved upon the latter, and the civil list was transferred to him. A new establishment was set up for the king, to support which, £170,000, including £50,000 resigned by the regent, were allotted; £100,000 were granted to the prince, and £9000 a year to each of the royal princesses, exclusive of the £4000 per annum allowed from the civil list. The regent, after some efforts to form a ministry, in which Lords Grey and Grenville might be included, retained Mr. Percival and his colleagues in office. The seals of the foreign department were resigned by Marquis Wellesley, and shortly after committed to Lord Castlereagh.

Distress and consequent riots continued to prevail in the manufacturing districts of England; and so organized a system was adopted by the malecontents, as led to a belief, that their views were not confined to the attainment of immediate relief, but partook of a revolutionary nature. Government endeavoured, by rigorous measures, to suppress these disturbances; but the manufacturers, and the country in general, attributed their origin and continuance to the operation of the orders in council. So general a dissatisfaction at last engaged the legislature to institute an inquiry into the state of commerce and manufactures; but the labours of the committee appointed in April for that purpose, were suspended, and the administration deprived of its leader, by the assassination of Mr. Percival, who was shot, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a person named Bellingham. To protract the life, and soothe the anguish of the dying minister, was the first impulse of the by-standers: their efforts were however unavailing; Mr. Percival expired after a short period

of intense suffering. Bellingham, after having taken his deadly aim, fearlessly remained among the spectators of its fatal efficacy, and hesitated not, when called for, to acknowledge himself the perpetrator of an act, to which, he judged, no infamy or punishment could be attached. When brought to trial, he alleged in his justification, that having been wrongfully imprisoned in Russia, and reduced from comparatively affluent circumstances, to extreme indigence, he had often ineffectually applied for redress to the English ambassador there ; and that having, on his return to England, found the ministry equally deaf to his complaints, he had taken revenge for their neglect in the assassination of their leader, without being influenced by personal feelings of animosity towards his victim. He was sentenced to death, and suffered the awarded penalty on the 18th of May.

After a protracted discussion between the members of the old cabinet, and the whig party, relative to the formation of a new ministry, a conciliation of parties being found impracticable, Lord Liverpool was appointed prime minister ; Lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department ; Lord Harrowby, president of the council ; and Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer.

Catholic affairs, and the orders in council, continued to occupy Parliamentary and general attention. Mr. Canning proposed, and carried, that the Commons should, during the next session of Parliament, take into consideration, the laws affecting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland. A similar motion, made by Marquis Wellesley, in the House of Lords, was lost by one voice ; but the Catholics found consolation for present disappointment, in the conviction that their course was at least progressive, and in the hope that its triumph was but deferred. The result of the inquiry into the state of commerce and manufactures, was a repeal of the orders in council, as far as they regarded American vessels. But this concession came too late to avert war between England and America. Angry feelings had long existed in the latter country against the British, and had been aggravated during the preceding year by an unfortunate collision which took place between an English sloop of war, and an American frigate. The former had 32 men killed or wounded in the affray ; the loss of the Americans, who were greatly superior in force, was inconsiderable. The governments of the two countries disavowing any hostile orders given to the two commanders, this affair produced only a temporary exasperation : other events

now widened the breach, and the Americans issued a declaration of war against England, on the 17th of June, five days previous to the repeal of the orders in council.

At an early period of the year, Lord Wellington, finding his troops sufficiently recovered from sickness and fatigue, again laid siege to Ciudad Rodrigo, and, in the evening of the 19th of January, carried that important fortress by storm. The garrison was considerably reduced in numbers, and the loss of the besiegers was also great, especially in officers, among whom was General Crawford, who fell, mortally wounded, as he was mounting the breach at the head of his troops. This brilliant affair obtained for Lord Wellington a vote of thanks from the Cortes, with the rank of a grandee of Spain of the first class, and the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. The Prince Regent of England created him an earl, and Parliament voted him a grant of £20,000 per annum. The British commander now prepared to invest Badajoz; a fire from twenty-six pieces of cannon was opened on the place, March 31st, and, notwithstanding the skill and perseverance with which it was defended by General Philopon, it was carried, April 6th, partly by assault and partly by escalade. An immense quantity of ammunition and implements of war, with 133 brass cannon, fell into the hands of the victors. The reduction of Badajoz shed an additional lustre on the arms of the allies; but the triumph was purchased with the loss of 5,000 British and Portuguese, killed or wounded in the siege and assault. Soult, who was advancing to relieve the fortress, on hearing of its surrender, retreated into Andalusia; upon which, Lord Wellington detached General Sir R. Hill to destroy the bridge of Almaraz, which offered the only good communication across the Tagus. The enterprise was, in every respect, successful. The reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz enabled Lord Wellington to advance into the interior of Spain. Having proceeded, almost without opposition, to Salamanca, he entered that city amidst the joyous acclamations of the inhabitants; while Marmont, retreating before him, took up a position on the eastern bank of the Tormes. After much time spent by both armies in a variety of evolutions, a general battle took place, July 22d, which was maintained till nightfall, and ended in the total defeat of the French. Although the darkness of the night was favourable to the retreating enemy, the number of prisoners taken amounted to 7,000, among whom a large proportion were officers. Two eagles, six standards, eleven pieces of cannon, and several ammunition-wagons, formed

part of the spoils on this occasion. After the battle of Salamanca, Joseph Bonaparte retired from Madrid, which was entered by the allies on the 17th of August. Early in September, Lord Wellington marched upon Burgos, through which city the French had retired, leaving a strong garrison in the castle; having failed in an attempt to carry this strong fortress by storm, and receiving intelligence that the united forces of Soult and Victor were advancing towards the Tagus, he broke up the siege, and, in the night of the 20th, commenced a retrograde march to the Douro. The allied troops were, consequently, recalled from Madrid, and, on the 2d of November, the French re-entered that city. Lord Wellington displayed consummate abilities in conducting his retreat before an enemy greatly superior in numbers, and, November 24, again established his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier. The effects of the battle of Salamanca had, in the meanwhile, been felt in the south of Spain; the French raised, in August, the siege of Cadiz, and withdrew, after blowing up their forts and batteries, leaving behind them a numerous artillery, mostly rendered unserviceable. They also evacuated Seville and their other possessions in that part of Spain. The Cortes testified their gratitude for the distinguished services of Lord Wellington by appointing him Commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies; a measure which led to that union of efforts, the want of which had been so often felt during this memorable contest. The victory of Salamanca was celebrated in England with illuminations and public rejoicings. Lord Wellington was created a Marquis of the United Kingdom, and Parliament voted a sum of £100,000 to be laid out in the purchase of estates for him and his heirs.

At the beginning of this year (1812) a change was made in the Spanish regency, General O'Donnel being named president, and the Duke del Infantado vice-president. The Cortes put forth a new constitution, which, as well as the former one of 1810, had a revolutionary and irreligious tendency, though published in the name of the king. The Pope's nuncio and the Bishop of Orense were banished, and many other Spaniards were sufferers on account of their attachment to the altar and the throne. The regency and Cortes were acknowledged by several foreign powers: England, Russia, and others, continued to treat with this assembly, which acted in the name of Ferdinand.

CHAPTER L.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN.

THE aspect of foreign affairs was altered this year by the defection of the Emperor Alexander from the maritime system of Napoleon, and by the war which ensued between these monarchs. Alexander had issued an ukase* at the close of 1810, by which English produce, in neutral ships, might be imported into the Russian dominions; and though Napoleon proclaimed that he would turn his arms against every nation whose ports should be opened to British merchandise, or denationalized vessels, Alexander did not revoke the permission. In reply to the remonstrance made by the French minister, early in 1812, the Russian ambassador required, as the conditions upon which Alexander would forego a direct trade with England, and adopt the French system of license, that Prussia and Swedish Pomerania should be evacuated by the French troops. The seizure of the duchy of Oldenburg, in violation of the treaty of Tilsit, was an additional subject of complaint on the part of Russia; she was, however, willing to conclude a treaty of exchange for that duchy, should France accede to her other proposals; but to these Bonaparte returned no reply. Remote preparations for war had been made by both parties, during the preceding year; and no sooner was the inefficacy of negotiation apparent to Napoleon, than he left Paris for the Russian frontier. Previous to his departure, he concluded a treaty with Austria, which bound each of its contracting parties to assist the other, if attacked, and guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Porte, in Europe. Overtures of peace were also made by the French emperor to Great Britain; but as one of the articles proposed "that the present dynasty in Spain should be recognised and the nation governed according to the constitution of the Cortes," Lord Castlereagh replied that the proposal was inadmissible. Alexander, on his side, concluded a treaty of amity and mutual defence with Great Britain and Sweden, and having thus acquired two powerful allies, he set out from St. Petersburg, and joined the general-in-chief, Barclay de Tolly, at Wilna. 80,000 men, divided into seven corps, and forming the centre of the Russian forces, were there assembled under his orders. To the south of Grodno, Bagration, with 65,000 men, was posted, and at Kowno, Wittgenstien, with 26,000.

* An imperial order.

Napoleon quitted Paris on the 9th of May ; from that city to Dresden, whither he was followed by the empress and a numerous court, his route was one continued triumph. The different divisions of the invading army were stationed along the shores of the Vistula, and Napoleon had no sooner passed that river, than he was hailed by the Poles as the restorer of their national independence. A deputation from the diet of Warsaw craved his protection for "the cradle of reviving Poland," and the majority of the nation warmly espoused his cause. The forces which were called together for the invasion of Russia, surpassed in numbers, in equipment, and in discipline, any that had been brought into the field since the ages of barbarism. They amounted to 600,000 men, among whom were Germans, French, Italians, Prussians, and Poles, and were divided into ten corps ; the Austrian auxiliaries being commanded by Prince Schwartzenburg ; the cavalry by Murat ; the old guards were led by La Febre, the new by Mortier, and the advanced guard by Jerome Bonaparte. These different divisions entered the Russian territory by various routes. Macdonald, who commanded the left wing, and was opposed to Prince Wittgenstein, rested his invasion on the Baltic, and threatened Revel, then Riga, and, lastly, St. Petersburg itself. Though thrice defeated by the Russian general, he carried on the war with judgment and valour under the walls of Riga, which city was ably and successfully defended by General Essen, and held out till Macdonald, at Napoleon's command, withdrew his army. With regard to his right wing, the French emperor relied on the support of Turkey, and in this he was disappointed. He had concluded that the Russian army of Volhynia, under Tormasof, would follow the movements of Alexander, whereas it advanced in a contrary direction. Tormasof was defeated ; but the peace of Buchares, which was then concluded between Russia and the Porte, left the army under Tschigakoff at liberty to join in the contest against the invaders of the empire, and to march from the Danube against Prince Schwartzenburg.

Between these two wings, the grand army marched towards the Niemen, in three separate masses ; Jerome Bonaparte, with 80,000 men, took the direction of Grodno ; Prince Eugene, with 75,000, that of Piloni ; Napoleon, with 200,000, that of Kowno. On the 23d of June, the imperial columns reached the Niemen ; on the following night, bridges were thrown across the river, and three successive days were employed in effecting the passage of the troops. They were

provided with provisions for twenty days, in which time Napoleon hoped to reach Wilna, and to have gained at least one decisive victory. The object of the Russians was to effect the destruction of the invader, not by attempting his defeat in the early stage of the campaign, but by laying waste the country before him, and by opposing his progress only in such positions as might insure his defeat with trifling loss on their side. By these means it was foreseen that his strength would be insensibly diminished; and, should he advance into the heart of the country and winter overtake him there, his entire ruin would be accomplished. It was in conformity with this plan, that the Russians, with their emperor, retreated from the Niemen to the Dwina. A considerable disadvantage, however, resulted from this plan. Prince Bagration was separated from the army of the centre, and Poland was abandoned to the enemy. Alexander had given orders that the different divisions of the Russian forces should assemble at Drissa. The whole main body reached the place of concentration without loss; and a corps under the orders of Doctorof, which had been left at Grodno, found means, though with difficulty, to force its way thither. Prince Bagration, for the same end, marched first upon Wilna, and afterwards upon Minsk; but finding both these places preoccupied by the French, he advanced towards Sloutsk, with the intention of proceeding from thence to Witepsk. To effect the junction of the two armies, Barclay de Tolly quitted Drissa, and, arriving before Witepsk, took up a position with a view of giving battle to the French, who were advancing towards it; but, on receiving intelligence that Prince Bagration had been compelled to fall back upon the road to Smolensk, he altered his intention, and resolved to retire in the same direction. His troops effected their retreat on the night of the 27th of July, in such order as to leave the enemy no indication of the road they had taken. Prince Bagration, who had been joined by Hetman Platoff, at the head of a large body of Cossacks, crossed the Beresina, at Bobreush; and, cutting his way through the divisions of Davoust and Mortier, which were stationed on the Dnieper to intercept his progress, reached Smolensk on the 7th of August; the united force of Barclay and Bagration amounted to 130,000 men. When Napoleon had sufficiently refreshed his troops, and had been apprized that reinforcements were advancing from Tilsit to his assistance, he ordered Murat and Beauharnais to force the passage of the Dnieper. News of

this movement caused General Barclay de Tolly to retire to the heights above Smolensk, which was strongly garrisoned. Prince Bagration was stationed on the Moscow road, and every necessary precaution taken to arrest the progress of the enemy.

Bonaparte arrived before Smolensk on the 16th of August, and ordered the assault of the suburbs, and the destruction of the bridges, by which a communication was maintained between the garrison and the army on the heights. Ney commanded the French left, Davoust the centre, and Prince Poniatowsky the right; the cavalry, under Beauharnais and Murat, and the guards, commanded by Napoleon in person, formed the rear. In the efforts of the French to gain their object, and of the Russians to prevent its attainment, thousands fell on both sides. The Russians, having disputed every point, were driven into the city, and the French advanced to its walls. A destructive fire from the outworks retarded for a while the farther progress of the besiegers; but breaching batteries were quickly raised, and the Russian left was forced to retire within the ramparts. The contest raged with undiminished fury till long after sunset; at length, the Russians, finding the works no longer tenable, set fire to the city in several places and retreated. At two o'clock on the following morning, the French mounted a breach, which they had made on the evening of the 16th: their progress was unresisted, except by widely-extended flames. The defenders of Smolensk had retired, and to its conquerors, who had hoped that it would afford them remuneration for the fatigue which they had sustained previous to its capture, wrecks of life and greatness, flaming palaces and blackened skeletons were alone discernible. Napoleon, as he viewed the vast scene of desolation before him, exclaimed, "Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies." He ordered the immediate pursuit of the retreating army, which, however, made good its march through Viasma. This city, like Smolensk, was destroyed, and presented to its invaders ruin and desolation.

On the 28th of August, General Barclay de Tolly resigned his command to Prince Kutusoff. The new commander-in-chief took up a position, with the intention of giving battle at Borodino, four wersts in advance of Mojaish, on the Moscow road. On the 4th of September the French arrived, in

great force, in the vicinity. On the morning of the 7th, Davoust and Poniatowsky attacked the Russian left; Ney opposed their centre, and Beauharnais their right. The battle soon became general; it raged till night rendered the contending parties no longer visible to each other. Victory was claimed by both parties; and Bonaparte and Kutusoff, in their several bulletins, announced it as gained by their respective armies. The Russians retained possession of the field of Borodino, but their loss was immense, and the French were not arrested in their progress.

Kutusoff, finding that the enemy was advancing upon the capital, and judging that his army, until the arrival of expected reinforcements, would fight under disadvantageous circumstances, passed through Moscow, which he determined to abandon, and took a position on the Kaluga road. He ordered that the arsenal and all the public and private treasures of Moscow should be secured, and the city left an empty waste, incapable of affording spoil or refreshment to the invading army. "The sacrifice of Moscow," he said, "was necessary for the preservation of Russia: it was an immolation of a part for the whole."* He added that, had he persisted in retaining this city, he should have abandoned the rich provinces of Toulâ and Kaluga, the store-houses of the Russian empire; that, by relinquishing it, he was enabled to cover these provinces; to maintain a communication with the corps of Tormazof and Tschigakoff; to intercept the enemy's line of operations, and to cut off supplies from their rear. General Winzingerode was ordered to occupy Twer, and to place a regiment of Cossacks on the road to Yarrow-sloff. Rostopchin, Governor of Moscow, after having secured its treasure, given orders for its total evacuation, and set fire to it, advanced at the head of 40,000 of the inhabitants, to join the army of Kutusoff.

The French marched upon the capital in three columns; Napoleon by the route from Smolensk, Poniatowsky by Kaluga, and Beauharnais by Zwenighorod. Privations and desolation awaited them in every stage of their progress; the Russian peasantry fled at their approach, and burned the houses, grain, and forage, along their whole line of march; and when at length they reached Moscow, for the possession of which they had cheerfully undergone want and peril, it presented to their view a vast and awful conflagration, and furnished no materials wherewith the intention of its destroy-

* Kutusoff's letter to Alexander, dated September 16th.

ers could be counteracted, for all fire-engines had been removed by Rostopchin's order. The French, however, made their way to the Kremlin, which a body of Russian soldiers, who had refused to abandon the city, tried ineffectually to defend; and there Napoleon fixed his head-quarters. On the 16th a violent wind caused the flames to spread on all sides; they extended to the emperor's residence, and obliged him to retire to Peterskoe. After a lapse of four days, during which the city appeared enveloped in smoke and flame, the fire subsided, and Napoleon returned to the Kremlin. Notwithstanding the orders of Kutusoff, Moscow afforded considerable spoil to the enemy. But this spoil was of such a nature as, by enervating the French soldiery, rather to impede than to promote the purposes of their emperor. Silver and china wares, wines of the most delicious flavour, silken stuffs and costly furs, were the hourly prey of the invaders, who, during their stay in Moscow, at once wanted necessities and rioted in luxuries. Neither had the city been quite abandoned by its inhabitants. Many of them had refused to adopt the Russian commander's plan, and these, during the enemy's stay, suffered the extreme of human misery. Bonaparte, seeing himself cut off from all means of supply, and his troops sinking under famine and disease, tried to negotiate with Alexander. He sent General Lauristan to the Russian head-quarters, to propose preliminaries of peace. But his overtures, which were renewed three several times, were as often contemptuously rejected by Prince Kutusoff. To the earnest solicitations of the French envoy, the Russian general replied; "The French have, indeed, proclaimed the campaign terminated at Moscow; but on our part we are only beginning." Retreat, therefore, became imperative, and Napoleon prepared to abandon his enterprise. Previously to leaving the city, he ordered the destruction of such of its buildings as had escaped the conflagration, and the trial of twenty-six Russians, who had been taken in the act of spreading the flames. Ten of these were sentenced to death, and sixteen to imprisonment. Napoleon then told his troops, that he was about to lead them to winter-quarters, and ordered Murat to drive back the Russians who guarded the Kaluga road, by which he intended to retreat; that of Witepsk and Smolensk having been rendered, by the former march of the French and Russians over it, nearly impassable. Murat, however, was defeated by Kutusoff; and General Winzingerode having repulsed Delson, who had been

ordered to take the way of Dimitrof, marched upon Moscow, which he entered on the 22d and drove the French under the walls of the citadel. Anxious to prevent bloodshed, he and his aid-de-camp rode up to the enemy's lines with a flag of truce, and proposed a capitulation. The French, disregarding the signal, seized and imprisoned them in the Kremlin. The Russian General Illouviasky, to save this quarter of the city, which the enemy had resolved to level, forced its gates, and seized the incendiaries before they had sprung the second mine. On the following day the French left Moscow.

In the mean time, the Russian generals stationed in the neighbourhood of Riga, continued to repel the attacks of the enemy in that quarter. General Essen took Mittau; and Wittgenstein, having succeeded in preventing Macdonald from marching upon Petersburg, advanced to meet the armies of Tormazof and Tschigakoff, which had formed a junction, on the 17th of September, at Sloutsk, and had so overawed Schwartzenburg and Regnier, as to induce them to retreat precipitately to Biastoff. The united forces were ordered to Minsk, to co-operate with the movements of Kutusoff, and arrived there on the 1st of November. The Russian commander-in-chief posted divisions of troops on every road, over which he supposed the enemy might seek a passage; and he ordered the Cossacks to be dispersed in all directions, where there might be a possibility of intercepting the enemy's march. The Russian corps of Doctarof coming up with three divisions of the retreating army, (November 22d,) an obstinately-contested battle was fought: the French proclaimed its result a victory to their arms, but they were compelled by the Russians to make towards the wasted Mojaisk road, now become their only line of retreat. Deep, broken ways, the want of every necessary, and the harassing and close pursuit of the Cossacks, rendered the French retreat a scene of extreme and daily-increasing wretchedness. Their sufferings, however, were not yet hopeless; they still looked forward to their arrival at Smolensk as the term of their miseries. The grand Russian force marched in a parallel direction with the retreating army. General Milloradovitch, commander of Kutusoff's advanced guard, pressed upon their left, and a corps was stationed at Dorogobouche to prevent their passing the Dnieper. As they drew near to Viasma, the hostile forces came in contact, and an engagement ensued between the Russian general and the corps of Beauharnais, Ney, and Davoust, in which the French were defeated.

When the fugitives were within a few days' journey from Smolensk, such tempestuous weather arose, accompanied by snow and piercing cold, as benumbed their limbs, and prevented their distinguishing the roads. Hundreds perished of cold, or were lost in the deep, impassable snow. Insubordination resulted from these additional hardships : the regiments marched in disorder, and spread desolation on their path, setting fire to the towns, as they passed, and ill-treating the inhabitants.

When Bonaparte reached Smolensk, (November 9th,) he found there none of the comforts anticipated by his army : the supplies were hardly sufficient to satisfy the immediate wants of the advanced guard ; and when Beauharnais's corps arrived, their astonishment and rage were excited by the news, that the provisions were already exhausted. On the 15th of November, the grand army was again in motion, and Bonaparte expressly commanded that each corps should be attended by its train of artillery. Kutusoff, foreseeing that the French would advance upon Krasnoi, hastened to intercept their progress, and attacked and defeated the corps of Davoust. A body of 12,000 men, disabled by cold and hunger, advancing in the same direction, was compelled to surrender ; Ney, himself, having with difficulty escaped, fled under cover of night across the Dnieper. Another division of the retreating army surrendered to Milloradovitch. The Russians waited some days at Krasnoi, for the arrival of their stores : Bonaparte, taking advantage of this circumstance, hastened to the Beresina, which he hoped to pass without molestation. With the remnant of Victor and Oudinot's corps, (which had formed a junction with the retreating army,) and some other regiments, he advanced on the right of the Beresina, towards Minsk. Tschigakoff was in his front, Kutusoff on his left and rear, and Wittgenstein on his right. On the 25th, he threw two bridges across the river at Strudzianca, over which, he, with Oudinot's corps, effected a passage. The greater part of the French army, enfeebled and dispirited by their sufferings, were yet on the eastern bank when Prince Wittgenstein reached it, November 28. A scene of indescribable confusion and horror ensued. The crowds that rushed together upon the bridges broke down one, and rendered a passage over the other impracticable. Many of the fugitives were drowned, others were suffocated, and some perished by the hand of their comrades ; anxiety for self-preservation, stifling the dictates of compassion in the

minds of the stronger, suggested to them the inhuman expedient of trampling on or drowning those whom weakness or infirmity rendered unable to contend for a passage. After a most sanguinary action, in which the Russians took 4000 prisoners, the Polonese corps, commanded by Girard, effected the passage of the Beresina, and then, to prevent the farther pursuit of the Russians, set fire to the bridge, regardless of the fate of thousands who were yet on the left bank of the river. These made their way, with cries of indignation against the inhumanity of their countrymen, to the burning bridge; a few succeed in passing it, but a far greater number perished in the flames. After the passage of the Beresina, Napoleon made for Wilna, with the intention of repairing, without delay, to Paris, where a conspiracy, formed during his absence, by three ex-generals of the republican party, had been discovered and suppressed. Having appointed Murat lieutenant-general, he pursued his journey, travelling incognito, on a single sledge, to Warsaw, and, passing rapidly through Dresden, Leipsig, and Mentz, arrived in Paris, at midnight, on the 18th of December.

After the departure of Bonaparte, no trace of subordination was observable among his followers. The chiefs abandoned their regiments; officers and soldiers alike limited their views to the attainment of individual safety. This irregularity, however, defeated its object, as it rendered the fugitives a more easy prey to the Russians, who had reconstructed a bridge across the Beresina, and now closely pursued and captured many of the imperial legions. The French passed through Wilna on the 10th; the Russians took that town on the 11th, and on the 14th advanced to Kowno. Macdonald, who had hitherto maintained himself in Courland, hearing of the discomfiture of the grand army, prepared to abandon Königsberg, and the line of the Niemen; but Wittgenstein, who advanced into East Prussia, stationed detachments to prevent his escape. General d'Yorck, finding himself unsupported, signed a convention, by which it was agreed, that the Prussian troops should retire into their own territory. On the 4th of January, 1813, Memel capitulated to the Russians, and Königsberg, in spite of Macdonald's vigorous efforts to defend it, surrendered. To reach the cities still garrisoned by their countrymen, was the only object that now animated to exertion the feeble wreck of Napoleon's army. Many of these fortresses surrendered to the Russians, during the month of January, 1813. Marienwerder was taken by Tschigakoff; Marienburg by

Platoff; and Kutusoff fixed his head-quarters in the capital of Russian Poland. All that the French had so proudly conquered in their advance to the Russian frontier was now lost. The plunder of Moscow had been abandoned in their retreat, and recovered by their pursuers. Of the mighty host that had passed the Niemen, for the conquest of the Russian territory, it is computed that only 50,000 men, including Prussians and Austrians, repassed that river.

CHAPTER LI.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE WAR WITH AMERICA, IN 1812, TO THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ALLIED POWERS, IN 1814.

The declaration of war issued by the United States against England was soon followed by active hostilities. The American General Hull on the 12th of July crossed Detroit river, erected the standard of the Union in Upper Canada and issued a proclamation, offering to the Canadians the alternative of peace, liberty, and security, if they would separate their interests from those of Great Britain and decline taking part in the approaching contest; but as his invasion had been expected, measures were already taken for the defence of the province, and the command of the forces collected for that purpose given to Major-General Brock by Sir George Prevost, the British Governor. General Hull, whose proclamation had produced no effect, advanced on Fort Malden, but soon retreated to Detroit. Brock followed him, and in an engagement gained a slight advantage, which he used to excite the fears of the American General. On summoning him to surrender, Brock to his own surprise obtained the capitulation of the place on the 16th of August. For this shameful surrender Hull was afterwards tried and condemned to death. The fall of Detroit was a severe blow to the Americans. Their Indians were in revolt, and the English had now formed a line of communication with them, and threatened the whole western frontier of the Republic. An army of national militia assembled in Western New York. To retrieve their cause a detachment of the American army crossed the Niagara in October, and, in spite of a resolute opposition, gained the heights. The sanguinary battle of Queenstown followed, in which Brock

was defeated and slain : but the small American force, unsupported by the main body, was soon surrounded and compelled to surrender to General Sheaffe. These triumphs of the English on land were more than counterbalanced by their reverses on the element over which they had hitherto held unrivalled dominion. On the 17th of August the *Guerrière* of forty-nine guns was forced to strike to the American frigate *Constitution*. The American brig *Wasp* was indeed captured by Sir John Beresford, but the English lost two other ships before the end of the year.

The levity of conduct imputed to the Princess of Wales in 1806, became again a topic of discussion in 1813 ; the subject being revived by a letter from the princess to the regent, complaining that she was debarred from the society of her daughter. This letter and the papers relative to the former investigation were submitted to the members of the privy-council, who were required to decide whether the intercourse between the Princess of Wales and the Princess Charlotte ought to be subject to restrictions. The privy-council having decided in the affirmative, the princess appealed to the House of Commons, by which assembly she prayed her cause might be investigated. Mr. Stuart Wortley made a motion to that effect, but failed to carry it, and the business rested for the present.

The charter of the East India Company, which had nearly expired, was renewed, with some modifications, and Parliament was again called upon to discuss the policy of conceding equal rights to a large class of British subjects. A bill was introduced by Mr. Grattan, (April 30th,) enabling Catholics to hold, with some few exceptions, any military or civil appointment, and to sit and vote in either House of Parliament, after taking a specified oath, of which the chief provisions were, allegiance to the king, support to the Protestant succession and existing church establishment, a renunciation of all belief in the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope within the United Kingdom, or of any power possessed by him to depose princes at pleasure. In the course of the discussion, the bill was newly modelled, so as to give to the crown a *veto* in the appointment of the Catholic bishops, and the inspection of all bulls and dispensations from Rome. On the subject of the *veto*, much difference of opinion for some time prevailed among the leading members of the Catholic body. In England, apprehensions were not generally entertained, that any inconvenience would result from the interfe-

rence of the state in ecclesiastical matters, till Dr. Milner,* a prelate equally distinguished for his zeal and erudition, raised his voice in opposition, and the Irish hierarchy and people joined in rejecting concessions if fettered by such a clause. In order to insure its omission, or, should that be found impracticable, to prevent the bill from passing into a law, Mr. O'Connor, of Balenagare, with two other gentlemen, was deputed from Ireland. The House was in committee on the subject, when the speaker rose, (May 24,) and, after a variety of observations, moved and carried by a majority of four voices, that the words "to sit and vote in either House of Parliament," be left out of the bill: upon which Mr. Ponsoby said, that as without that clause it was neither worth the acceptance of the Catholics, nor the support of their advocates, he should move "that the chairman do now leave the chair." This motion being carried, the bill was abandoned; but the propriety of conceding or refusing the right of *veto* to the crown, continued for some time longer to form a topic of discussion between the advocates and opponents of the measure.

While the Catholics of Great Britain were thus struggling unsuccessfully for the recovery of their civil rights, their chief earthly pastor had to contend with difficulties of a nature unprecedented in the annals of the church. From the date of the rejected brief already mentioned, Pius VII. continued undisturbed in his solitude at Savona, till, in June, 1812, orders were issued for his immediate transfer to Fontainebleau. The journey was to be performed with all possible secrecy and expedition: a few hours only were allowed for indispensable preparations, and the Pope was compelled to lay aside the attire peculiar to his rank, that he might not be recognised on the road, nor received with honours similar to those which had formerly attended his progress. He travelled alone, (his attendants quitted Savona several hours later;) and on arriving at the monastery of Mount Cenis, fell dangerously ill; yet the journey was continued, Pius remaining shut up night and day in a close carriage, which he was never allowed to quit. Thus, rapidly traversing France, he arrived (June 13th) at Fontainebleau, where apartments were assigned him in the ancient palace of the Kings of France. From that time forward, he was treated with greater deference and courtesy,

* Author of a "History of Winchester," "The End of Religious Controversy," and many other works. He died in 1836.

and allowed to receive occasional visits. But the cardinals, in whose counsels and sympathy he might have found consolation, were dispersed in their various places of exile ; and the conversation of those who were now about his person, served only to increase the irksomeness of his captivity. They placed before his eyes in vivid colours the desolate condition of the universal church, which they said might be justly termed "Acefala," or without a head, since the faithful were debarred from all communication with the chief pastor ; they dwelt on the particular hardships of numerous sees, so long vacant in Italy, Germany, and France ; on the exile and imprisonment of so many cardinals, prelates, and other ecclesiastics, dragged from city to city, from prison to prison ; and pointed out, in conclusion, a reconciliation with the emperor, or, in other words, a condescension to his unjust demands, as the only remedy for so many evils. It may readily be conceived how sorrowful an impression these reiterated representations must have made on the mind of Pius, worn out with afflictions, and now reduced, by illness, to a state of extreme debility. Seven months had elapsed in this manner, since the Pope's arrival at Fontainebleau, when Napoleon, defeated, but not disheartened, returned from his disastrous campaign in Russia, and vigorously applied himself to collect the last resources of his widely-extended empire for a fresh contest.

At this important crisis of his affairs, a reconciliation, either real or simulated, with the Sovereign Pontiff, appeared to him a measure of sound policy, not to be neglected. The prolonged captivity of a venerable old man, revered by the majority of European nations as the head of their religion, and revered by all for his personal virtues, had, he well knew, alienated from his government the hearts of many, as well in France, as in Poland and Germany, where the powers whom he had crushed or humbled made use of this motive to inflame the popular indignation against his person. To remove these impressions, Napoleon took advantage of the new year, to send his chamberlain to Fontainebleau, charged with complimentary messages to the Pope, from himself and the empress. This renewal of intercourse was followed by the unexpected arrival, January 19th, of Napoleon himself, who, repairing instantly to the Pope's apartment, saluted him with all the cordiality of long-established friendship. Strange as such conduct might appear from one who had despoiled, insulted, and imprisoned him, Pius received these exterior demonstrations

of kindness with his usual sweetness: the goodness of his heart had, indeed, always inclined him to attribute the ill-treatment which he had so often experienced, rather to inferior agents, than to the emperor whom he had so highly obliged. But if the courtesy of this first meeting induced him to augur favourably of Napoleon's dispositions, he was soon undeceived. During the succeeding days, other interviews took place; the plan of a new concordat was again brought forward, in which several provisions, injurious to the rights of the Holy See, were intermingled with promises on the part of the emperor to restore to liberty the exiled and captive cardinals, and to make other arrangements for the welfare of the church. These latter motives had great weight with the Pope. Yielding to the personal solicitations of Napoleon, and the earnest entreaties of the prelates who seconded his views, he consented, January 25, to affix his signature to a series of articles which were to serve as a basis for a future concordat, with the express stipulation that they should not be made public, nor considered valid, until examined and approved, according to the customary forms, by a consistory of cardinals. Napoleon promised all that was required, and, while a pen was hurriedly thrust into the Pope's hand, stood by to sign after him; yet, without any regard for this express reserve, hastened to publish the articles as a definitive treaty, and to declare, in announcing the conclusion of a new concordat throughout the whole French empire, that all the differences which had so long subsisted between France and the Holy See were satisfactorily settled. In proof of this, the disgraced cardinals were recalled, and invited to appear at court. Cardinals Consalvi and Pacca arrived at Fontainebleau before the end of the month, and his Holiness, who now saw cause to regret the confidence he had placed in the emperor's good faith, conferred with each upon the subject of the premature publication of the articles, in the crude and imperfect state in which they were drawn up.* After mature consideration, it was concluded, that, being simple preliminaries, they were open to future amend-

* The third article was chiefly objectionable, and was as follows:—"The demesnes which his Holiness possessed, and which are not alienated, shall be exempt from every species of tax; they shall be administered by agents or charges d'affaires. Those which are already alienated shall be made good to the amount of 2,000,000 francs." Hence it might be inferred that, in signing this article, the Pope consented to be indemnified for the sovereignty of the Ecclesiastical States, already seized and still retained by the French emperor.

ment or rejection. His Holiness, therefore, addressed an autograph letter to Napoleon, in which he declared the pretended concordat null and of no value. Having despatched this formal revocation to the emperor, by Colonel Lagorsse, he communicated a copy of it to all the cardinals and prelates at Fontainebleau, authorizing them to make it known, in every way that circumstances would permit. This precaution was not superfluous: the letter was suppressed by Napoleon,* who, notwithstanding the Pope's energetic remonstrances, by a second decree, issued on the following day, declared the concordat, styled of 1813, binding on all archbishops, bishops, and chapters, throughout the countries subject to France.

The publication of this decree excited fears that Napoleon would enforce its execution by violent measures:† but the moment was not favourable to excite a schism in the church, or to redouble the murmurs of the people; and he appeared willing to defer his projects till his return from the important campaign on which he was about to enter. He had now collected a sufficient force to enable him, notwithstanding the disasters of the preceding year, to take the field with undiminished confidence. By a decree, dated January 11th, the senate placed 350,000 men at his disposal. To complete this number, the conscription was enforced with unusual rigour; mere children were carried off from their homes, to swell the ranks of the imperial legions, and to dye the soil of Germany with their blood, as their elder brothers had perished amidst the snows of Russia. Napoleon also published a flattering account of the French finances, attributing his late reverses to the rigour of an inhospitable climate, and assuring his people that a continuation of the war would soon restore France to her military attitude, and terminate in a glorious and advan-

* It is not positively known what effect the Pope's letter produced on Napoleon. It was asserted at the time, that he exclaimed in great anger at the council of state—"If I do not cut off the heads of some of these priests at Fontainebleau, I shall never come to any arrangement." One of his irreligious flatterers replied, that it was time for him to follow the example of Henry VIII., and declare himself absolute head of the religion of the state. "No," said, Napoleon, using a familiar comparison, "Ce serait casser les vitres."

† The French bishops were ordered to quit Fontainebleau, and no one was admitted to see the Pope but the cardinals. During the night of the 5th of April, Cardinal di Pietro, then confessor to his Holiness, was seized and carried off to Auxonne, under the custody of a gendarme. A great number of ecclesiastics, for refusing obedience to the new concordat, were banished to Corsica, and subjected to the most inhuman treatment.

teagueous peace. Having thus endeavoured to revive the confidence of his subjects, he appointed the Empress Maria Louisa to act as regent during his absence, and quitted Paris, to take the command of his army, on the 15th of April. Arriving at Erfurth on the 25th, he issued orders for all his forces in Germany to march towards Leipzig. They consisted, independently of the imperial guard, of twelve corps, formidable in numbers, though few veterans were to be found among them, and commanded by marshals of long-standing renown for military skill: their right wing was led by Marmont, the centre by Ney, the left by the Viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, the old and new guard were under the immediate command of the emperor, with Marshal Berthier as chief of his staff.

Russia, in the mean time, prepared to add fresh wreaths to the laurels she had gained, and to annihilate the force which her armies had shown was not unconquerable. Not satisfied with opposing to France her individual exertions, she tried to rouse the long-dormant energy of the European powers, and induce them to join with her in the approaching contest. The Prussians earnestly besought their sovereign to accept the proffered alliance of Alexander. Frederic William answered the appeal of his subjects by an effort to mediate between France and Russia; and with this view proposed, that the French troops should retire beyond the Elbe, and the Russians behind the Vistula. But Napoleon rejected the proffered mediation, and a treaty, offensive and defensive, was immediately concluded between Alexander and Frederic William. A warlike attitude was now assumed, and great military preparations were made by Prussia; the landwehr was ordered out, and numerous volunteers enrolled themselves in their country's service. The continental system was abolished in the Prussian states, and the importation of French merchandise prohibited. Sweden, too, made common cause with the coalesced powers, and signed a treaty with England on the 3d of March, by which she engaged to furnish the allies with 30,000 troops, to be commanded by the crown-prince; Great Britain engaging, on her side, not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, to cede to the latter power the island of Guadaloupe, and to pay her a million sterling for the service of the campaign.

These arrangements being made, the Russians, under Wittgenstein, crossed the Elbe for the purpose of driving the French back upon the Maine; a second army, under Tschii-

galkoff, was formed into two divisions, one of which, under Platoff, laid siege to Dantzic, while the other remained on the Vistula; a third, under Winzingerode, moved on the Elbe; General Blücher, with 25,000 men, passed that river at Dresden; General d'York was at Berlin with the main Prussian army, and a large Swedish force, under the crown-prince, Bernadotte, was stationed at Stralsund. The Russians and Prussians, headed by their respective sovereigns, having united their forces, which, together with those of Sweden, were computed at 200,000 men, a sharp conflict took place at Weissenfels, (May 1st,) in which the French had the advantage. On the following day, Napoleon advanced to Lützen on his way to Leipzig; but, being met and attacked by the allies, a general action began at noon, and was maintained with various success during the rest of the day. Having in vain attempted to dislodge the French by an attack during the night, the allies, covered by their numerous and excellent cavalry, retreated through Altenburg and Colditz to Bautzen; and thus Napoleon was enabled to march through Leipzig to Dresden, where he was met by the King of Saxony, who united his troops to those of France. The French continued to advance, through a series of bloody and well-contested actions, into Silesia, marking their progress with flames and devastation; and on the 1st of June, one of their divisions, under General Lauriston, entered Breslau. The Swedes, meanwhile, were not slow in fulfilling the engagements they had contracted with the allies; they threw a body of troops into Hamburg, which the Russians, after having taken, had abandoned, and which was now threatened by Marshal Davoust. The Swedish garrison was, however, soon recalled to act against the Danes; and that unfortunate city again fell into the power of the French, and being shortly after besieged by the allies, had to suffer alike from its enemies and its defenders.

Notwithstanding the temporary success of his armies, Napoleon, through the medium of his father-in-law, transmitted to the Emperor Alexander proposals for an armistice, preparatory to arrangements for a general pacification, which being accepted, it was signed and ratified on the 4th of June. Though negotiations for peace were immediately set on foot, Germany still resounded with preparations for war. Napoleon ordered reinforcements, from every territory under his control, to rally round his standard. Prussia and Russia called all their resources into action; and Austria, of whose

assistance each of the contending parties was equally ambitious, made such mighty preparations, as seemed to promise victory to whichever party should obtain her co-operation. The armistice terminated on the 10th of August, without having opened the way to peace. A declaration of war by Austria against France, and a treaty of alliance with Russia and Great Britain, were the immediate results of the failure of her mediation.

Of the allied forces three divisions were now made: the first, consisting of the whole Austrian force and some large Prussian and Russian detachments, was stationed in Bohemia; the second, composed of Russian and Prussian regulars and militia, under the command of Blücher, was posted in Silesia; and the third, under the crown-prince of Sweden, was stationed in Prussia and the north of Germany. General Moreau, who had recently returned from America to visit his old friend and companion in arms, Bernadotte, was prevailed upon by the Emperor Alexander to give the assistance of his military talents to the cause of the allies. He arrived at Stralsund on the 4th of August, and thence hastened to meet the allied sovereigns. Notwithstanding the defection of Austria from his alliance, Napoleon, with whom Denmark, Holland, Italy, Saxony, Bavaria, and all the other states of the Rhenish confederacy were united, mustered a force superior in numerical strength to that of his opponents; the main body of his army alone was estimated at 300,000 men. This force occupied Bautzen: part of it retreated to defend Dresden, near which the allies encamped on the 26th. The French had expended much time and labour in fortifying the city, and the force within its walls amounted to 130,000 men, headed by Napoleon in person. On the same day the confederates attacked the redoubts, silenced one of them, and obliged the enemy to retire from the outworks. Next day the French became the assailants. After a heavy cannonade had been maintained for some hours by the hostile enemies, the confederates were apprized that Napoleon had detached a large force to attack their rear, and cut them off from Bohemia. This intelligence, and a conviction that Dresden was impregnable, caused the allies to retreat. The contest of the 27th cost them their newly-arrived and much valued general, Moreau, who having lost both his legs by a cannon-shot, expired on the 3d of September. The allies were in full retreat, closely followed by the enemy, when an unlooked-for event gave a new turn to affairs, and rendered the victory of Dres-

den comparatively unavailing to the conqueror. General Vandamme, at the head of 10,000 men, was in pursuit of the Austrians under Prince Schwartzburg, when the Prussian General Kliest, by taking a cross-road, fell upon his rear; Vandamme, thus surrounded, was compelled to surrender. When the allies retreated from Dresden, Bonaparte sent Marshal Ney to act against Bernadotte, who was moving towards the Elbe in the direction of Leipzig. The two armies met at Denevitz. The crown-prince, assisted by the Prussians under Bulow, succeeded in routing the French and obliging them to retreat on Torgau.

The prospects of the allies, thenceforth, wore every day a more cheering, those of Napoleon a more gloomy aspect. Reinforcements were unceasingly arriving to the former, while the numerical strength of the latter was decreasing, and many, on whose support he counted, were beginning to desert his cause. Early in October, the allies, having been joined by the Polo-Russian army, under General Benningsen, and by Hetman Platoff, resolved to execute a plan they had long contemplated: to interpose their forces between Dresden and the Rhine, attack the French army in the rear, and cut off its retreat. Prince Schwartzburg advanced for this purpose from Bohemia towards Leipzig, and formed a junction with Blucher and Bernadotte; the position of the allies, in rear of the enemy, extending from Dessau to the Bohemian frontier. A seasonable support here awaited them. Bavaria having formed a treaty of alliance with Austria, united her forces to those of the allies. Napoleon, apprized of the defection of Bavaria, recalled his troops from the direction of Berlin, and moved upon Leipzig, which city he reached on the 15th of October. The confederates were posted round it, and on the 26th two great, and several less considerable engagements simultaneously took place. Of the greater actions, the one between Prince Schwartzburg and part of the French force, under the personal command of Napoleon, seemed at first favourable to his standard; but, towards the close of the day, the allies retrieved their losses: the others were indecisive. The 17th was spent by both armies in making dispositions for a renewal of battle. On the 18th, the allies, in three columns, marched at an early hour upon the positions chosen by the French emperor. Battle was maintained with doubtful success, till the Saxons, by deserting to the allies, turned the scale against their old confederates. Night parted the combatants; the allied army bivouacked on the field of battle,

and Napoleon returned to Leipzig. The French, although not driven from the field, had lost 40,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; their ammunition was exhausted, and the means of supplying themselves with this necessary article were at a distance. Under these circumstances, Napoleon resolved to retreat, by a route which he had opened, on the 17th. On the night of the 18th, the heavy baggage and part of the artillery, cavalry, and guards, moved for Weissenfels; next day orders were given for a general retreat. The allied army advanced early, on the 19th, to take Leipzig, the defence of which had been committed to Macdonald and Poniatowsky. A Saxon officer, deputed by the city magistrates, requested from the sovereigns a suspension of hostilities, preparatory to a capitulation. Alexander, in person, received the officer, but denied his request; the King of Saxony, with as little success, sent flags of truce to the allied monarchs, to avert a bombardment. Leipzig was carried by assault, and the allies entered it two hours after the departure of Napoleon. The conquerors effected their entrance with as little individual damage as possible; but the sanguinary conflicts of the 16th and 18th had left to the inhabitants comparatively nothing worth preservation, in Leipzig or its environs. Their superb buildings, their gardens, parks, and groves, all presented a vast scene of ruin and pestilence; putrid carcasses, fallen or deserted mansions, and human suffering in countless forms, met the view of the confederates on all sides. Many French officers, who had remained behind, were taken prisoners; amongst them was Bertrand, commander of the city. The number of those who perished, or were made prisoners, on the 19th of October, may be computed at 29,000 or 30,000. During the efforts of negotiation already noticed, extreme confusion prevailed among the retreating troops; baggage, cannon, horse, foot-guards, and droves of cattle, all intermingled, impeded each others' progress, and rendered it hardly practicable. The Pleisse, the Elster, and some lesser rivers, over which the fugitives had to pass, heightened the difficulty of their retreat. Bonaparte ordered the grand bridge between Leipzig and Lindenau to be blown up, as soon as the French should have effected a passage over it; the soldiers appointed to execute this service, misunderstanding the orders given them, blew up the bridge before the rear-guard, under Macdonald and Poniatowsky, had passed. Numbers, whose retreat was thus cut off, were taken prisoners; many perished in the waters; Macdonald swam across. Poniatowsky

boldly plunged into the flood, where its banks were marshy and lined by Russian and Saxon riflemen; his horse sank and with it its gallant rider, and neither rose again. Many of his followers who followed, shared his fate. The Bavarians, under Wrede, took post at Hanau, as did Blücher at Coblenz, to intercept the retreating army. Wrede, after having obstinately disputed, was obliged to permit their passage. They advanced to Frankfort, and, passing the Rhine at Mentz, rendered Blücher's precaution unavailing. On the 9th of November Napoleon entered Paris, and convened the senate. By a senatorial decree, 300,000 men were placed at the disposal of the war-minister, to retrieve the faded glory of the French arms.

The Austrian, Bavarian, and part of the Russian and Prussian armies, marched towards the Rhine, and fixed their headquarters at Frankfort, (November 5th,) while Bernadotte with the army of the north, advanced into Hanover, restored the former government, and took Lubeck and Glückstadt. A division of the French army, under Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr, which Napoleon had left in garrison at Dresden, being closely blockaded by the Russians, and reduced to a state of great misery by famine, consented to surrender in November, on condition of being allowed to return to France. They had already begun their march, when the terms of the capitulation were annulled by the allies, and they were detained prisoners, to the number of 40,000. The French garrison at Stettin was compelled in like manner to capitulate.

From Frankfort the allies issued a proclamation explanatory of their political views: they sought not to conquer France, for they were willing to allow her a greater extent of territory than she had ever possessed under her kings, but to restore to other powers that peace and independence of which Napoleon had deprived them: on these terms they offered peace. Napoleon, by rejecting it, gave the death-blow to his power; the allies prepared to cross the Rhine, and entered France. Nor was it the eastern frontier of his empire alone that was menaced by hostile legions: the French arms were as unsuccessful in Spain as in Germany, and the Rhine and the Pyrenees were equally inefficient barriers against Europe, coalesced to effect his downfall.

At the close of 1812, the French main army, considerably weakened by the withdrawal of several divisions to reinforce the army on the Elbe, was in cantonments in the vicinity of Salamanca and Valladolid. Soult was at Toledo, and Joseph

Bonaparte at Madrid. In the March following they moved, as if to concentrate themselves in the northern and north-eastern provinces, and in April advanced closer upon the Douro. It was not till the month of May, that Lord Wellington, at the head of considerable reinforcements, moved from his head-quarters at Freynada, and, having chased the enemy from Salamanca, re-entered that city on the 26th. The French, under Joseph Bonaparte in person, evacuated Valladolid, abandoned the capital and their positions on the Douro, retreated to Burgos, and thence across the Ebro to Vittoria, with the English in close pursuit on their rear. The allied army passed the Ebro (15th) and marched upon Vittoria, which city they reached on the 20th, and on the following day gained one of the most complete victories recorded in the annals of war. Sir Rowland Hill, at an early hour, took the heights of Puebla and the village of Subigena d'Alava. The Earl of Dalhousie and Sir Thomas Picton, who held the centre of the allied army, moved against the heights which command the valley, while Sir R. Hill attacked the French left. The latter abandoned the valley, and fled in the direction of Vittoria. The left of the allied army, under Sir Thomas Graham, had intercepted the retreat of the French army upon the high road into France, and they were obliged to retire by that of Pampeluna, upon which they could hold no position; nor, consequently, wait for the drawing off of their artillery and baggage. They saved but one gun. The allies lost nearly 4,000 men in the battle of Vittoria; the French double that number. A large French force took up its position on the road from Pampeluna to Bayonne, but was dislodged from thence, and compelled to retreat to Tolosa; Castanos defeated the enemy on the Bidassoa, and Sir R. Hill conquered the army of the centre, which had hitherto remained in the valley of Rastan, and obliged it to cross the Spanish frontier. The English legislature voted its thanks to Lord Wellington for the splendid victory achieved at Vittoria; the prince-regent named him a field-marshal, and the Spanish government conferred upon him the title of Duke of Vittoria, and a landed property of great value.

Bonaparte, who had withdrawn Soult, one of his ablest generals, from the Peninsula to the Elbe, now directed him to return to Spain, with the title of "Lieutenant de l'Empereur," and sent him reinforcements to repair the losses which the late reverses had caused in the Gallo-Spanish army.

The Anglo-Sicilian army, which had arrived on the eastern

coast of Spain, in 1812, remained inactive in Alicant till the April of the present year. After the taking of Fort St. Philippe, Sir John Murray, by order of Lord Wellington, laid siege to Tarragona. He acted in concert with a British squadron, commanded by Captain Hallowell, and for some days maintained the siege with vigour and a prospect of success; but when apprized that Suchet was advancing with a large force to relieve the town, he desisted from further operations, re-embarked his troops, (June 17th,) and sailed to Alicant. Lord William Bentinck took the command of the forces, and prepared to renew the siege; being compelled by Suchet to retreat, he (in September) resigned the command to Lieutenant-general Clin, and embarked to Sicily. But the chief efforts of the allies were made on the side of the western Pyrenees, of which they possessed the principal passes; and the sieges of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian were vigorously maintained. On the 24th July, Soult ordered an attack upon the positions occupied by Generals Hill and Byng, in which he succeeded. Sir Laurie Cole and Sir Thomas Picton fell back to cover the blockade of Pampeluna, before which Soult arrived on the 27th. Next day the hostile armies fought a general battle along the heights, in which the allies were victorious. On the 30th the French renewed the contest; but they were ultimately repulsed, and driven in confusion towards their own territory. The efforts of Sir T. Graham to take St. Sebastian were long unsuccessful; its defence was protracted from the beginning of July till the 18th of September, when it was finally reduced. On the 7th of October, the allied English and Spanish army entered France, by crossing the Bidassoa; attacked the enemy's entrenchments, and took eight pieces of cannon. Next day the French positions were carried. The surrender of Pampeluna to Don Carlos d'España, shortly after, having placed an additional force at the disposal of Lord Wellington, he attacked the entrenchments on the Nivelle, drove the French from their central position, pursued them across that river, and compelled them to retire (November 11th) to their fortified camp near Bayonne. Although the bad state of the roads prevented the immediate advance of the English, they had at least secured a firm footing in France, from which the French made many fruitless efforts to dislodge them. Finding this impracticable, they abandoned their line of defence, and withdrew into their own territory. Napoleon, being now convinced that any further attempts to retain possession of Spain would be ineffectual, concluded a treaty (De-

cember 6th) with Ferdinand, whom, on certain conditions, he agreed to restore to liberty and the possession of the Spanish crown. This treaty was invalidated by a decree of the Cortes, which annulled all acts signed by the king during his captivity.

The reverses of Napoleon encouraged the Hollanders to throw off the yoke which, in his days of conquest, he had imposed upon them. Disaffection to the French government had long subsisted amongst this people, and the malecontents now organized a plan of counter-revolution, and compelled the French authorities to leave Amsterdam. On the 15th of November, the inhabitants of that city appointed a provisional government for the administration of public affairs; and, to render the counter-revolution complete, two envoys were deputed to the Prince of Orange, then in England, to inform him of the recent occurrences, and to solicit his acceptance of the sovereignty of Holland. With this request the prince complied, arrived at Schoevingen on the 30th, and on the 3d December, made his entry into Amsterdam, amidst the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants. He was proclaimed William 1st, sovereign Prince of the Netherlands.

The war between Great Britain and America, though prosecuted with vigour, had, during this year, no decisive result. The American General Winchester was surprised and taken at Frenchtown by a party of English and Indians under Proctor, who tarnished his victory by the horrors of an Indian massacre, committed after a promise of protection. Attempting to pursue his advantage, Proctor laid siege to Fort Meigs, on the Miami: but that post was resolutely defended by General Harrison, who at last compelled Proctor to raise the siege, and retreat to Canada. Meanwhile hostilities took place on Lake Ontario. Sir George Prevost crossed and surprised Ogdensburg, but the Americans soon fitted out a flotilla which made them masters of the lake. Under the command of General Dearborn they took Toronto in spite of the vigorous opposition of a large British and Indian force under General Sheaffe, who failing to arrest their progress retired to Kingston. Dearborn encouraged by this success proceeded to attack the British posts on the Niagara and took two of their forts. In September the American and English flotillas on Lake Erie engaged, and the former, under Commodore Perry, captured the whole British force. Harrison, now relieved in the west, crossed the Detroit, and on the 5th of October completely defeated Proctor in the bloody battle of the Thames, where Tecumseh, the soul of the Indian confederacy,

fell. This restored peace to the west. In the east General Hampton made an ineffectual attempt on Montreal, but on the repulse of his van at Chateaugay, fell back. At the close of the year neither party had gained any advantage.

The British Parliament met in the month of November, and a supplementary loan of £20,000,000, with several foreign subsidies, was agreed to without a single dissentient voice. It adjourned on the 20th of December, and did not again assemble till the ensuing 21st of March. This interval was one of intense anxiety; the confederated armies entered France in various directions, and the affairs of the continent were evidently drawing to a crisis; yet it still remained a problem, if the warrior, who had carried his victorious eagles through the several kingdoms of Europe, could be subdued, even by the united efforts of all, in his own.

CHAPTER LII.

FROM THE INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ALLIED POWERS, TO
THE TREATY OF GHENT, IN 1814.

THE allied powers divided the forces, destined for the invasion of the French territory, into seven grand armies. The first was commanded by Prince Schwartzburg; it consisted of seven troops of Austrians, the Russian divisions of Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein, the Bavarians, under Count Wrede, and the Wirtemburghers, under their prince-royal. The second army was commanded by Blucher; it was formed by the united divisions of d'Yorck, Kliest, and Bulow, four Russian corps, and the Saxons, under the Duke of Saxe Weimar and Baron Theilman. The third army was commanded by Bernadotte; it was composed of the Swedish and five Russian corps, the Hanseatic troops, the contingents of the states of the Rhenish confederation, and an Anglo-German corps. The fourth was the Anglo-Batavian army, under Sir Thomas Graham. The fifth, the Anglo-Spanish army, on the Pyrenean frontier, commanded by Lord Wellington. The sixth, the Austro-Italian army, commanded by Count Bellegarde. The seventh was composed of deserters from the French cause: it was that of Murat, who signed, January 11th, a treaty of alliance with the coalesced powers. At the beginning of the year, this overwhelming force was already

in motion, and advancing, with rapid strides, into the territory of France. The army of Silesia had passed the Rhine, towards the north; the English had forced the Pyrenees, to the south; the Austrians, by the capture of Geneva, had laid open the road to Lyons, and were advancing on the east; the Crown-prince of Sweden, having overrun Holstein, and compelled the King of Denmark to sue for peace,* was penetrating through Holland and Belgium into France, when Napoleon, committing his empress and her son to the care and fidelity of the Parisians, set out (January 26th) to take the command of his army, which was posted between the Seine and the Marne. Though his forces were far outnumbered by those of the allies, he commenced a series of well-directed attacks against the hostile corps by which he was surrounded, and in these he was for the most part successful. On the 29th he defeated, at Brienne, 40,000 Prussians, under Blucher; but that general being reinforced by the Austrians, the combat was renewed on the 31st, at La Rothière, when the French, repulsed in their turn, were forced back upon Troyes in disorder, and harassed by the Cossacks in their rear. Finding his numbers unequal to oppose an effectual resistance to the allies in so many different quarters, Napoleon resolved, by concentrating his forces at particular points, to cut off their communication and defeat them in detail. In pursuance of this plan, Blucher, who was now marching upon Paris by way of Chalons and Meaux, became his first object of attack. On the 10th of February a corps of communication between the grand army and that of Silesia, under the Russian General Alsufieff, was routed at Champ-Aubert, the general himself being taken prisoner. Though Napoleon was so much elated with this victory as to exclaim—"Another such, and I am upon the Vistula!" it was but the prelude to one of far greater importance. The hostile armies met on the 13th at Montmirail; the fortune of the day, though long undecided, was at length favourable to the French; and Blucher was compelled to retreat upon Chateau-Thierry, with the loss of 10,000 in killed and wounded, and a complete interruption of his communication with the grand army. Under other circumstances, the victories of Champ-Aubert and Montmirail would have been decisive; but Napoleon was now so com-

* The King of Denmark, the last and most faithful of Napoleon's allies, acceded to the continental confederation, and signed a treaty of peace with Great Britain and Sweden, at Kiel, (January 14th,) by which Norway was ceded to the latter, in exchange for Pomerania and the island of Rugen

pletely surrounded by the forces of the coalition, that even while the cannon of the Hotel des Invalides was thundering forth the acclamations of victory, the roll of hostile artillery announced that the enemy was approaching the very gates of the capital. In effect, while Napoleon had been employed against Blücher, Schwartzburg had taken Sens, Nogent, Bray, and Montereau; Wittgenstein and Wrede had moved towards Melun, and Bianchi (February 16) was in possession of Fontainebleau. But the energies, the activity, and the resources of the French emperor seemed inexhaustible. By a variety of skilful manœuvres, and by successive victories at Vauchamp, Nangis, and Montereau, he compelled the allies to abandon these positions, and retreat once more behind the Aube.

Amidst the brilliant success which attended his arms, wherever he commanded in person, Napoleon was not entirely fearless of his impending ruin. Anxious to avert it, if possible, by negotiation, the allied armies had no sooner entered France, than he despatched Caulaincourt to the sovereigns, with proposals for an armistice, offering an immediate surrender of the German fortresses still occupied by his troops. As this was evidently a device to gain time and recruit his army with the returning garrisons, the allies refused a suspension of arms, but agreed to name plenipotentiaries to treat of conditions of peace. Negotiations had been accordingly carried on for some time at Chatillon; Lords Aberdeen, Stewart, and Cathcart, assisting as representatives of his Britannic majesty, and Counts Razoumowsky, Stadion, and De Humboldt, as the respective envoys of Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

A draught of the treaty, agreed upon by the plenipotentiaries in congress, was presented to Napoleon on the 18th. They proposed that France should be limited to the extent of territory which she had held under her kings, and that Paris should be occupied by the allied troops, till the conclusion of the definitive treaty. Napoleon, whom recent victory had elated, was not in a temper to submit to these conditions. Exclaiming, in a tone at once ironical and angry—"Occupy Paris! I am at this moment nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris," he tore the draught submitted to his approval. But while Napoleon had been employed against the grand army, Blücher had gained time to recruit his forces, and had retaken Chalons, Vitry, and Chateau-Thierry. He now marched to form a junction with Bulow and Winzingerode,

who had advanced through Belgium, and, having freed it from the yoke of France, were in the neighbourhood of Rheims and Soissons. Napoleon, called alternately to oppose the progress of Schwartzenburg and that of Blucher, left Troyes (February 17) to meet the Prussians and impede the projected junction; which, however, was effected near Soissons, in spite of the joint efforts of Marmont and Mortier, who commanded under the emperor.

The allied sovereigns, anxious to give renovated vigour to their exertions, signed a quadruple alliance, on the 1st of March, at Chaumont. They engaged, should Napoleon persevere in rejecting the proposals made to him by the congress of Chatillon, to bring 150,000 men each into the field, Great Britain furnishing a subsidy of five millions, to be equally divided among the three continental powers, and to continue their alliance for twenty years.

Schwartzenburg, induced by Blucher's success again to advance, defeated Oudinot and Victor at Bar-sur-Aube, and entered Troyes; while Platoff seized Arcis-sur-Aube and Sezanne, and, by means of detached columns of horse, maintained a communication between the two armies. Napoleon arrived on the 6th of March at Laon, near which the united forces of Blucher, Bulow, and Winzingerode were strongly posted. On the 7th, he attacked and drove them from the field. They retreated to Laon; he pursued, and, on the 9th, again attacked them; but the battle ended in the defeat of the French, with the loss of 5,000 men and 48 pieces of cannon. Napoleon renewed the contest on the following day, and was again unsuccessful. Finding his troops cut down, without gaining any advantage, he ordered a retreat, and his worsted legions fell back upon Soissons. Threatened, however, in that position, by the Count of St. Priest, who had taken Rheims, Napoleon marched upon that city, recovered it, and fixed there his head-quarters. Rendered confident by these partial successes, he now demanded of the congress at Chatillon, as the only conditions upon which he would accede to peace, that the French empire should extend to the Rhine and the Alps, and that Antwerp, Nimeguen, and Flushing should be incorporated with it; that Italy and Venice should be allowed to Eugene Beauharnais; and that indemnities should be given to Joseph Bonaparte for Spain, to Jerome for Westphalia, and to Louis for Berg. His conditions were rejected by the allied powers, as subversive of the very principle for which they had taken up arms,—the re-establishment of a

just equilibrium among the states of Europe; upon which, the congress, on the 18th of March, was finally dissolved.

Proclamations were now addressed to the French nation: one, from the emperor, ordered a levy *en masse*, and pronounced all Frenchmen traitors who should endeavour to prevent the expulsion of the invaders; while one, from the Austrians and Prussians, threatened with certain destruction all who should oppose their progress, or who, not being soldiers, should be taken with arms in their hands.

While the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian armies were contending with Napoleon on the Seine and Marne, the Anglo-Spanish force, under Lord Wellington, was advancing in an opposite direction. On the 24th February, General Sir J. Hope and Admiral Penrose crossed the Adour below Bayonne. Soult, to arrest their progress, took a strong position in front of Orthes; upon which Lord Wellington ordered an immediate attack. The French, being turned on all sides, retreated towards St. Sever, and thence towards Bordeaux, but fell back upon Tarbes. An anxiety for the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty, and a secret association to promote this object, had long existed in the south of France, and particularly at Bordeaux, whither Lord Wellington was now advancing. The royalists in those parts deputed envoys, early in the year, to Louis XVIII., (who since 1800 had resided in England, under the assumed name of Comte de Lille,) inviting him to return to France. The Duke d'Angoulême, his nephew, and husband to the daughter of Louis XVI., issued a proclamation, empowering Lord Wellington to act for the exiled monarch, till his arrival in the French territory. A detachment of 15,000 men, under Marshal Beresford, entered the large and populous city of Bordeaux, at the request of the mayor, the Marquis de la Rochejaquelein, and the principal inhabitants, who, having hoisted the white flag, went out to meet the English troops and accompany them into the city. The archbishop congratulated the Duke d'Angoulême in the name of the citizens, and a solemn *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral.

In the mean time, Napoleon, ignorant of the dissolution of the congress, and encouraged by his success at Rheims, counted upon the expulsion of his enemies. His confidence of ultimate success was further excited by the capture of Chalons, which surrendered to Marshal Ney on the 13th of March; but the allied monarchs were preparing to make a general attack upon the whole French line, and with this

intention repassed the Seine on that day. Bonaparte moved to Epernay on the 16th, and thence to Fere Champenoise, where he was apprized of the dissolution of the congress. The allies concentrated their forces in front of Arcis, to give him battle. The attack was begun by Napoleon, but his troops were repulsed at the first onset. To support their drooping courage, he placed himself at their head, and, to the anxious expostulations of his staff, replied, "Fear not: the ball which will be fatal to me is not yet in existence." The battle was maintained till night. During its continuance, reinforcements arrived to both parties: at its close, neither army was driven from the field. The allies, during the night, concentrated themselves on the heights of Mesnil-la-Comtesse. Bonaparte, on the following day, reconnoitred their position, and prepared to attack it; but suddenly formed the singular design of passing between the armies of the allies, intending to cut off their communication with the Rhine, and, at the same time, to liberate the garrison of Metz, for which purpose he retreated upon Vitry and St. Dizier. The corps of Oudinot and Sebastiani formed the rear-guard of his army, and to them he committed the defence of the bridge of Arcis; but they were dislodged, and the grand army hastened to post itself between the emperor and his capital, and to form a junction with the army of Silesia. This was effected at Chalons, on the 24th; and the united allied force, now amounting to 200,000 men, began to move by rapid and continued marches upon Paris. The combat of Fere Champenoise took place on the 26th, in which Marmont and Mortier were defeated, and driven back upon Paris; the allies also captured a convoy of ammunition and warlike stores, on its way to the French head-quarters. On the 20th, the two sovereigns crossed the Marne, at Tripot, and the next day at Meaux; the remainder of the 29th was employed in preparing for an attack on Paris.

Reverses, in the mean time, attended the French arms in other quarters. The north of France was invaded, and many of its towns taken, by the Duke of Saxe Weimar. Count Bubna entered Lyons, (March 21st,) notwithstanding the exertions of Augereau; and in Italy, Count Bellegarde, though vigorously opposed by Beauharnais, established himself on the Mincio. The Dutch, however, failed to give the allies the warm support which their first insurrection seemed to promise; and an attack made by Sir T. Graham upon Bergen-op-Zoom was unsuccessful.

When Napoleon was apprized that the allied sovereigns were within five leagues of Paris, and that Marmont and Mortier were preparing to defend it; anxious to avert the threatened ruin of his capital, he despatched Count Weissemburg (lately taken prisoner) to the Emperor Francis, to advocate the cause of Maria Louisa and her son; but neither the representations of the count, nor those of M. Galbois, whom Napoleon sent upon a similar errand, effected any alteration in the purpose of the Austrian emperor.

The united armies continued their march by three different roads, those of Meaux, Soissons, and Lagny; while Mortier and Marmont fell back to take a position on the heights which cover Paris towards the east. Within that city, these events excited fear, exultation, and defiance; but fear was the prevailing sensation. The partisans of the Bourbons, few indeed in number, but strong in zeal and in the goodness of their cause, rejoiced at the approach of the allies, who, they hoped, would restore the ancient dynasty; yet calculated, with melancholy forebodings, the numbers who might fall, before the desired object could be accomplished. The adherents of Napoleon, on the other hand, while they affected to disbelieve the near approach of the allies, tried to rouse the Parisians to repel the threatened attack. Crowds of peasants, from the neighbouring villages, rushing into the capital, increased the general confusion, which was further augmented by the precipitate departure of the empress, with her son and the principal officers of state.

Early on the 30th of March, two officers, deputed by the allied sovereigns, appeared at the advanced posts of Mortier and Marmont, with a proclamation to the inhabitants of Paris, informing them, that the only object of the allies was the establishment of such an authority in France, as should "join in cementing the union of all nations and governments;" and that, in the choice of a government of the nature specified, the Parisians would be supported by the confederates. The officers were denied admittance, and both armies prepared for battle. Joseph Bonaparte, having under his orders Marshals Marmont and Mortier, took a position on the heights near the city; his right wing rested on Belleville; his left reached from Mousseaux to Neuilly; his centre was protected by redoubts, and 150 pieces of cannon were placed along the line. The arrival of Napoleon being hourly expected, the allies resolved on an immediate attack. At eight o'clock the heights of Belleville and Romainville were attacked

by General Rayesski. The combat was sanguine on the heights between Romainville and Pantin, and victory seemed to incline to the French standard, the artillery making dreadful havoc among the allies; but Barclay de Tolly, arriving with the Russian and Baden guards, made the advantage preponderate on the side of the allies. Joseph Bonaparte still hoped to save the capital, when, not long after, the confederate armies were seen in full force on the plains of St. Denis, and orders were issued for a general attack. Finding that the French troops could not hold out more than an hour and a half, Joseph empowered Marmont to capitulate, and fled from the city; yet it was not till they had been forced from all their positions and driven to the barriers, that the marshal, judging any further resistance would be but an unavailing expenditure of the lives of his soldiers, solicited a truce, preparatory to a capitulation. The proposal was accepted without hesitation by the allied monarchs, and the capitulation was concluded on the morning of the 31st.

Napoleon, in the mean time, was making hasty strides to prevent the fall of his capital. When he was first apprized of the march of the allies upon it, he ordered that it should not be sacrificed by an obstinate defence. At a later hour, however, he sent General Gerardin to the city authorities, with a command that Paris should be defended to the utmost extent of their power and ability, and with an assurance that he and his army would follow in twelve hours the arrival of his despatches. But this counter-order was received too late: the capitulation was already signed, and Marmont, at the head of his troops, had retired to Essonne. The passing events operated variously on the minds of the Parisians; many of them having assembled on the 31st, at the Place de Louis Quinze, M. de Vavineux read to them the proclamation of P. Schwartzenburg; after which white cockades were exhibited, and cries of "Live the Bourbons," "Down with the tyrant," were vociferated on all sides, except where a few faithful adherents of Napoleon still ventured to name him with reverence, and to expostulate with their fellow-citizens upon their altered sentiments.

The two sovereigns made their triumphant entry into Paris on the 31st, about noon, amidst cries of "Long live Alexander and Frederic William, our deliverers! Vive Louis XVIII. ! les Bourbons !" "We come not as your conquerors, but as your allies," was the reiterated reply of the sovereigns. About a quarter past one they arrived at the hotel Talleyrand, where

the Emperor of Russia was to reside, and immediately entered upon those important political discussions, by which the destinies of France were to be decided. Three projects were successively brought under consideration. 1st. To make peace with Napoleon, under all possible securities. 2dly. To establish a regency. 3dly. To recall the Bourbons. Alexander took, for some time, no decided part in the debate, in which the Parisian statesmen were actively engaged, but continued walking up and down the saloon, with some appearance of agitation. At length, on his intimating that the choice of the nation might fall on Bernadotte or Eugene Beauharnais, Talleyrand energetically replied, "Sire, there are but two possible alternatives; Bonaparte or the Bourbons." On another occasion, he added, "Bernadotte, Eugene, a regency, each of these is an intrigue; Louis XVIII. is a principle." These words produced a great effect on the assembly, and induced Alexander, as head of the coalition, to sign a declaration, by which he announced that the allies would no longer treat with Bonaparte, nor with any member of his family; "that they would acknowledge and guarantee the constitution which the French nation should adopt for itself;" to which end, they invited the senate to choose a provisional government, "which might provide for the wants of the administration, and prepare a constitution suitable to the French nation." Upon the issuing of this proclamation, which was printed and placarded throughout Paris within an hour, the municipal council abjured the authority of Napoleon; and many representations of his tyranny, and of the horror in which he was held by the people of France, were presented to the sovereigns. On the following day, (April 1st,) Talleyrand, in his quality of vice-grand elector, convoked the senate. That assembly declared the throne forfeited by Napoleon, and the French army and nation released from their oath of fidelity to him. They next named, as members of the provisional government, Prince Talleyrand, General Beurnonville, the Comte de Jaucour, the Duc de Dalberg, and M. de Montesquiou. The legislative body assented, on the 3d, to the decree of the senate, as did the body of advocates and Court of Cassation. The Duke of Ragusa (Marmont) signified to Prince Schwartzenburg his readiness to acquiesce in the decree of the senate, and quit the service of the emperor, on condition that his troops should be permitted to pass into Normandy, and that life and liberty should be guaranteed to Napoleon, if taken prisoner, in a territory fixed upon by the allied powers

and the French government. The marshal's proposals were accepted; but his pledge was afterwards restored to him, at his own request, by Prince Schwartzenburg.

These adhesions frustrated the hope which Bonaparte had, till then, cherished, of retrieving his losses. On the morning of the 30th, while the battle raged most fiercely on the heights near Paris, he quitted Troyes at an early hour, and hastened in advance of his army, with a feeble escort of cavalry, towards the capital. He arrived, about an hour after midnight, at a village within twelve miles of Paris, where he received from General Belliard the unwelcome news of its surrender, and immediately despatched Caulaincourt* to the Emperor of Russia, with unlimited powers to treat and to conclude upon whatever conditions should be demanded. But Alexander, in the name of the allies, refused to enter into any negotiations, and Caulaincourt repaired to Fontainebleau, where Napoleon had established his head-quarters. Marshals Macdonald, Oudinot, and several other general officers, arrived there on the 31st, and a council was held to deliberate on the course to be pursued. Napoleon talked of marching upon Paris, though the wrecks of his army assembled at Fontainebleau, did not then exceed 25,000 men. To this the marshals would not consent, adding that, should he persist in that determination, not a sword would be drawn from its scabbard to assist him in the attempt. The project of abdicating in favour of his son, suggested by Caulaincourt, was, after some hesitation, adopted by Napoleon, who, having drawn up and signed the act, charged Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt to be the bearers of it to the Emperor Alexander. The three envoys, on their way to Paris, called upon Marmont, at Essonne, and invited him to bear them company. He assented, and they went together to Prince Schwartzenburg's, to withdraw Marmont's act of adhesion, that he might unite his efforts to those of his companions in arms, in behalf of their vanquished chief. They arrived late in the evening at the hotel Talleyrand, where several members attached to the provisional government, fearful lest the arrival of Napoleon's commissioners should cause any change in the decision of Alexander, had assembled; and were admitted to an immediate audience. Macdonald spoke with great warmth in favour of a regency, and was answered

* Caulaincourt seems to have acted a doubtful and ambiguous part. He has been accused, perhaps unjustly, of having, in conjunction with Talleyrand, urged Napoleon to his ruin, by flattering him with vain hopes, and persuading him to reject the most reasonable proposals on the part of the allies, while acting as his envoy at the Congress of Chatillon.

with equal energy by General Dessolles, who had warmly espoused the cause of the Bourbons. Alexander promised, in conjunction with his allies, to give the subject his serious consideration, and, in a few hours' time, to make known to them his final determination. Taking leave of the Russian emperor, the envoys passed into the saloon, where the members of the provisional government were assembled; and Talleyrand remarked, that should they succeed in their object, they would compromise all who had entered that room since the 1st of April: "as for myself," he added, "think not of me; I wish to be compromised." On arriving at Ney's hotel, there to await Alexander's decision, Marmont was apprized that Napoleon, immediately after the departure of the envoys from Fontainebleau, had sent to Essonne, commanding his immediate attendance: a second and a third messenger had reiterated the order. Marmont, as has been seen, was then in Paris; the generals who commanded under him, and had with him given in their adhesion to the provisional government, alarmed at this rapid succession of expresses, and dreading Napoleon's vengeance, had resolved to march for Versailles, where, on their arrival, the troops, not seeing the marshal at their head, had broken out into open insurrection. This intelligence induced Marmont to set out with all speed for Versailles. He was met by his generals, who vainly entreated him not to expose his life in the midst of a rebellious soldiery. The regiments being drawn up by his orders, he advanced alone on horseback, "How," he exclaimed, "is there treason here? Do you disown me? Am I no longer your comrade? Have I not been twenty times wounded among you? Have I not shared in all your fatigues, your privations? and am I not ready to do so again?" The soldiers interrupted him with loud shouts of "Vive le Maréchal!" and all returned to their duty.

While these events were passing at Versailles, Ney, Macdonald, and Caulaincourt hastened to obtain Alexander's answer before the insurrectionary movements among Marmont's corps could be known. The emperor had gone on foot, at six in the morning of the 5th, to the King of Prussia's residence, and the two sovereigns returned together to the hotel Talleyrand. Alexander then informed the envoys that a regency was impossible, and that the allies could be satisfied with nothing less than a prompt and unconditional abdication. "Three days ago," Alexander observed, "Paris declared itself; since then adhesions have poured in from all

quarters. If the army is not satisfied, why were not its wishes made known?" Macdonald replied, that the opportunity had not offered, since none of the marshals were in Paris. Upon his adding that Napoleon demanded nothing for himself personally, Alexander rejoined, "Assure him that he shall have a provision suitable to the rank he has occupied; that should he wish to retire to my dominions, he shall be well received, though he carried desolation into the midst of them; that I shall ever remember the friendship that united us." An armistice of forty-eight hours being then agreed to, the commissioners took leave of the sovereigns, and reached Fontainebleau an hour after midnight. Napoleon, on the 5th, reviewed his troops, and found the enthusiasm they manifested two days before, exchanged for a degree of coldness which sensibly affected him. The commissioners made their report; Napoleon heard them calmly, though not without emotion, and despatched them on a second embassy to Paris. On arriving in that city, Ney gave in his adhesion to the provisional government, so that Macdonald this time returned alone, and presented to Napoleon a copy of the treaty agreed to by the allies. The emperor signed it, without making any remark. He then desired the sabre, given to him in Egypt, by Mourad Bey, to be brought out, and presented it to the marshal as a token of gratitude for these his last and valuable services. The treaty was ratified on the 11th: by its provisions an annual income of 2,000,000 francs, with the sovereignty of the isle of Elba, was secured to him for life; 400 volunteers were to accompany him thither; the Polish troops to return home retaining their pensions, titles, and decorations he had bestowed upon them; the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla were settled on Maria Louisa, reversible to her son; all the members of the imperial family were to retain their titles during life, and an ample pension was secured to each. These conditions having been guaranteed by the allies, Napoleon signed, on the same day, the act of formal abdication, for himself and his heirs, of the thrones of France and Italy. In this latter kingdom an army of 30,000 men was still under the orders of Eugene Beauharnais, who, on receiving intelligence of the events in Paris, signed, (April 10th,) with Marshal Bellegarde, the Austrian commander, a convention, which allowed the French troops to retire unmolested into France. General Grenier conducted them across the Alps; the viceroy awaited in Italy the decision of the allies, hoping, perhaps, that the son-in-law of Ba-

varia might obtain an independent sovereignty. But the French troops were not three days' march from Milan when that city broke out into open rebellion; Prina, the French minister of finance, was assassinated; and Eugene thought himself fortunate in being able to reach, almost unattended, the court of his father-in-law, at Munich.*

The empress and Napoleon's brothers, who on their departure from Paris had established a regency at Blois, removed on the 10th of April to Orleans. Thence Maria Louisa proceeded to Germany: Joseph and Jerome also quitted France. Napoleon left the country over which he had so long presided, on the 20th of April, accompanied by Bertrand and Drouet, by four commissoners, and an escort of 150 foreign soldiers. In a farewell harangue to his guards, he exhorted them to be faithful to their new sovereign; and asserted that, with their assistance, he could have protracted a civil war for three years; but that, consulting not his own, but his people's happiness, he had forborne to do so. On his route from Fontainebleau to Avignon, the attachment of his late subjects, expressed in enthusiastic cheers, seemed rather to have derived increase than diminution from his altered fortune. But from the day of his arrival at Avignon, (April 25th,) till he reached the frontier, the coarsest invectives, wherever he was recognised, assailed him. Alarmed by the increasing rudeness of the populace, and a surmise that the new government had ordered his assassination, he, from Orgon to La Calade, travelled upon a post-horse, disguised as a courier; and from La Calade to Frejus, personated an Austrian colonel, and sat in General Koller's calèche. At Frejus, finding himself protected by an Austrian escort, he ventured to reoccupy his own carriage. On the 28th, he embarked in the harbour of St. Raphor, on board an English brig, and, on the 3d of May, arrived off the coast of Elba.

In the mean time an unnecessary effusion of blood took place in the south of France, where the English and French commanders, ignorant of the surrender of Paris and the events

* He was not long after summoned to Paris by the illness and death of his mother, the ex-empress Josephine. On this occasion, he was presented to Louis XVIII. as Viscount Beauharnais. The king received him graciously, addressed him by the title of prince, and offered him a residence in France, with his rank of prince and marshal. These favours were respectfully declined. Josephine had been visited at Malmaison by the allied sovereigns, during their occupation of Paris, in 1814, and died there towards the close of that year. Her son was created Duke of Leuchtenberg, and died in 1824.

which followed it, fought a sanguinary and long-contested battle. Soult, after his defeat at Orthes, fell back towards Tarbes, and, being thence dislodged, was obliged to retreat to Toulouse. In the contest which ensued, and which was of twelve hours' continuance, the utmost skill and bravery were displayed, and numbers fell on both sides. The English ultimately succeeded in compelling the enemy to retreat, first into the city and thence to Castelnau-dary. At Toulouse, as at Bourdeaux, the conquerors were received with loud plaudits, and with cries of "Vive Wellington! Vivent les Bourbons!" On the following day, both armies received intelligence of the surrender of Paris; Soult and Suchet for some time hesitated to believe the account of the emperor's overthrow; but when convinced of its certainty, they entered into a convention similar to that already concluded at Paris.

The last trophies of the war were won by Lord William Bentinck, who captured Genoa by a combined operation of the Anglo-Sicilian land troops under his command, and of the sea-forces under Sir Josiah Rowley. The two forts of Richelieu and Teela were carried by storm, while the gun and mortar-ships silenced the enemy's batteries, and, having forced him to desert them, took possession of, and turned them against the place. The French commander retreated into the town, and, having vainly endeavoured to gain time by negotiation, was compelled to capitulate. The allied troops entered it on the 21st of April, and found there 292 pieces of cannon: the British squadron sailing at the same time into the harbour where they captured two seventy-fours and four brigs of war. These advantages were gained, with the comparatively trifling loss to the allies, of 220 killed, wounded, or missing. Genoa, by a decree of the Congress of Vienna, was annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia, and thus that ancient and far-famed republic ceased to exist.

One of the first acts of the provisional government, was a decree, addressed to the civil and military authorities, ordaining that no obstacle should be raised to the Pope's return to his dominions, and that he should be everywhere received with the honours due to his exalted rank. The adhesion of Murat to the continental alliance, in virtue of which he had marched an army to Rome, and still occupied, in defiance of the Viceroy Eugene, the western part of the ecclesiastical state, had caused, in the early part of the year, a marked change in the affairs of Italy. Napoleon, who chose rather to see those provinces under the mild sway of Pius VII., than

in the hands of the ambitious soldier who had deserted his cause, tried to enter into fresh negotiations with the Pope, and sent (January 18) to propose to him a treaty, by which Rome, and the territory as far as Perugia, should be restored to the Holy See. Pius replied with dignity, that the restitution of his states, being an act of justice, could not be made the object of a particular treaty; that, moreover, any arrangements concluded out of Rome, would be looked upon as the effect of violent proceedings: all that he demanded was to return to his see; no obstacle should then prevent him from promoting general tranquillity by all the means in his power. "It is possible," he added, emphatically, "that in our own person we may not be found worthy to revisit Rome, but our successors shall assuredly recover the territories which belong to them." Four days later, Napoleon, who was on the point of leaving Paris to oppose the armies of the coalition, which were even then at no very considerable distance from Fontainebleau, sent for Colonel Lagorsse, and ordered him to set out on the morrow, and conduct his Holiness, with as little delay as possible, to Rome. On receiving intimation of the emperor's will, Pius expressed his earnest desire to be accompanied by at least one of the members of the sacred college, but was respectfully informed by Colonel Lagorsse, that the request was incompatible with his instructions. At an early hour, therefore, on the following morning, having assembled around him all the cardinals then at Fontainebleau, the Pope took leave of them with an air of calm resignation, stating that, as he was then about to quit them, to go he knew not whither, nor whether he should ever again have the consolation of seeing them, it was his desire to make known to them his intentions and will. He expressly enjoined them (a form of speech very unusual with him) to refuse their assent, individually and collectively, to every species of treaty or stipulation; adding, that he had left with the Cardinal Dean a paper, written entirely with his own hand, containing instructions for their conduct, under any emergencies that were likely to occur. Precautions had already been taken for the election of his successor, in case of his demise. The cardinals were deeply affected, and all promised fidelity and obedience. Intelligence of the Pope's immediate departure having quickly spread through the town, hundreds of the inhabitants scaled the walls of the palace-court, and were waiting in the snow to receive his last farewell and blessing. His carriage took the direction of Orleans; the road to

Lyons being occupied by the allies, and he reached Savona early in February, where he received the first intimation of the decree which restored to him the two departments of Rome and Trasimene. By the respectful attentions of the Viceroy Eugene, he was enabled (March 25th) to pursue his journey to Parma, and thence to Cesena, his native city. Having sent forward a delegate to take possession in his name of the city of Rome, he resolved to await the issue of events and the return of the cardinals, who were now hastening to Italy from various towns in the south of France, to which they had been sent, under the custody of gendarmes, the day after his departure from Fontainebleau. During his residence in the city of Cesena, Joachim Murat requested an audience, and was immediately admitted. After the first compliments, he affected ignorance as to the intended term of the Pope's journey; and, on being informed, asked his Holiness how he could think of returning to Rome against the will of the Romans. Producing at once a memorial addressed to the allied sovereigns by some of the nobles of that city, praying that they might in future be governed by a secular prince, he said, "that he had sent a copy to Vienna, but had reserved the original, that his Holiness might see the signatures." Pius took the memorial from his hand, and, without opening, threw it into a stove that stood near, where it was instantly consumed; he then added, "Is there any thing *now* to prevent us from re-entering Rome?" After which, he mildly dismissed the arrogant soldier, who, in 1809, had sent troops from Naples to assist in the violent seizure of his person, and who, if, as it was asserted, he had solicited the signatures, was deeply implicated in the conspiracy which he denounced. Difficulties soon arose as to the marches of Ancona, which Murat, supported, as he alleged, by Austria, insisted on retaining: to settle this matter by the intervention of the allies, Cardinal Consalvi was sent to Paris by his Holiness. The sovereigns, he learned, on his arrival there, had proceeded to London, whither he followed them, and obtained an audience of each, as well as of the prince-regent, by whom he was received with distinction. In the mean while, the Sovereign Pontiff made his entry into the capital of his states, (May 24th,) ~~having~~ in his carriage the Cardinal Dean, whom he had left at Fontainebleau, and Cardinal Pacca, who had been arrested with him at Monte Cavallo. Charles IV., of Spain, with his queen and the Infante Don Francisco; the ex-King of Sardinia, the Queen of Etruria, and numerous

other distinguished personages, formed part of the cortège. The incident at Cesena had transpired, and was then known in full detail at Rome, where all, including those who had signed the memorial, were now unanimous in receiving their sovereign with unfeigned demonstrations of joy and attachment. An address of congratulation was presented by General Lord Wm. Bentinck, in the name of the Prince-regent of England, accompanied with a blank exchequer-bill, signed by that sovereign, which he requested his Holiness to accept and fill up, to any amount he might stand in need of. The Pope was so overcome with surprise and gratitude, as to be for some minutes unable to speak; at length, he expressed his thanks in the most lively terms, and requested Lord W. Bentinck to be the bearer of them to his royal highness.* By a bull dated the 7th of August, the celebrated Society of the Jesuits, *at the unanimous request of the Catholic world*,† was solemnly restored. Cardinal Pacca, who had imbibed early prejudices against the institute, from the writings of Pascal, of which he had since learned the fallacy, was among the first to advise the Pope to this measure; and he was seconded by the pressing solicitations of numerous archbishops, bishops, and other persons of distinction. Various religious houses were reopened in Rome; and such of their possessions as had not been alienated were returned to them.

In the mean time, the restoration seemed consolidated in France: in virtue of a new constitution, adopted by the senate, on the 5th of April, Louis Stanislaus Xavier was, by that name, called to fill the vacant throne. Indisposition prevented him from setting out immediately for France; he therefore appointed his brother, the Count d'Artois, to be lieutenant-general of the kingdom till his arrival; and that prince entered Paris on the 12th, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the inhabitants. Three days later, the Emperor Francis made his entry with great military pomp: Alexander and Frederic William met him at the barrier, and the three sovereigns traversed the city in company. Louis XVIII. was able, on the 20th of April, to repair to London, where he was received by the regent with regal honours. The two sovereigns interchanged, on this occasion, the orders of the

* A full-length portrait of George IV., in Lawrence's best style, still adorns one of the galleries of the Vatican. It was ordered shortly after this incident by Pius VII., as a token of his gratitude.

† Words of the bull.

Holy Ghost and of the Garter; this being the first time the former decoration was ever conferred on a Protestant prince. The king's arrival at Calais was announced by the discharge of artillery, and followed by shouts and reiterated acclamations. On the 2d of May, he arrived at St. Omer, where he received the members of the provisional government, with deputations from various bodies of the state, and issued a proclamation, approving the basis of the proposed constitution; but as it had been unavoidably drawn up in haste, he convoked the members of the senate and the legislative body to frame a charter, which should concede a representative government, consisting of peers and deputies; guaranty the inviolability of national and individual liberty, the maintenance of military and civil honours, liberty of conscience and of the press.

On the 3d of May, Louis entered Paris, preceded by the marshals, the generals of the army and officers of the court, attended by the national and royal guards, and detachments of regular troops. Countless multitudes thronged from the city to meet the royal procession, and its entry into the capital was hailed by such enthusiastic demonstrations of joyful gratulation, as were calculated, could they silence the recollection of irrecoverable losses, to compensate for past neglect and exile.

The decline of Napoleon's power also enabled Ferdinand of Spain to emerge from the obscurity in which he had been so long detained in the chateau of Valencey. On the 24th of March he arrived at Gerona, from whence he proceeded to Saragossa and thence to Valencia, where he issued a decree abolishing the Cortes, and annulling the constitution which they had published. The royalists of the old stamp, who wished the crown to be invested as formerly with absolute power, were supported by the king; and many of those who had most distinguished themselves during the reign of the Cortes, by writings or speeches in favour of liberty, were placed under arrest. Ferdinand entered Madrid on the 14th of May, and was received with marked demonstrations of respect and loyalty; the tribunal of the Inquisition, with some alterations as to the form and method of its proceedings, and all other ecclesiastical and civil establishments, resumed their former position; Ferdinand also recalled the Jesuits to Spain, and restored to them their college of St. Isidore.

On the 23d, the allied powers signed a convention, which stipulated that their armies should evacuate France in fourteen

days; that the fleets should remain in their present stations; but that all blockades should be raised, and all prisoners mutually restored. A definitive treaty of peace between the King of England and his allies on the one part, and Louis XVIII. on the other, was concluded on the 30th of May. Its chief stipulations were, that France should retain her limits as they were in January, 1791, with some small addition of territory; that the colonies wrested from her by England since 1792, should be restored, except Tobago and St. Lucia, which, with the Isle of France and its dependencies, were kept by England, and the port of St. Domingo ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, which was to revert to Spain; that Guadaloupe should be restored by Sweden to France; that the States of Germany should be independent and united by a confederative bond; that the Swiss republic should be restored; that Italy, beyond the limits to revert to Austria, should be composed of sovereign states; that Malta and its dependencies should remain in the possession of England; that Holland should be subject to the house of Orange, and its sovereignty not be held in any case by a prince wearing, or destined to wear, a foreign crown; that no individual, in the countries restored or ceded by the treaty, should be prosecuted or molested for his political opinions. By this treaty the allies and the French monarch reciprocally renounced all claims to sums advanced by either party to the other, since 1792. All the powers engaged in the late war were to send plenipotentiaries to Vienna, to conclude in congress all necessary arrangements.

In this general treaty Norway was not included; and England, in conformity with a promise made by her to Sweden, prepared to force the Norwegians to submit to the Swedish yoke. This meditated transfer, for which their consent had not been asked, was exceedingly displeasing to the Norwegians, who, encouraged by their governor, Christian, the hereditary Prince of Denmark, took up arms to assert their national independence. The Crown-prince of Sweden entered Norway in the beginning of August, at the head of an army of veterans, to enforce submission; after some skirmishing, the Norwegians, being nearly surrounded, agreed to a convention, by which the Prince of Denmark resigned his authority, and the King of Sweden accepted a constitution to be framed by the Norwegian diet. That assembly met on the 20th of October, and the union of Norway with Sweden was ratified by a large majority. A free constitution was

also conceded to the Dutch ; and the ten Belgic Provinces formerly subject to Austria, were united to Holland ; the whole to form one kingdom, under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange and his descendants. The city of Hamburg, after its long and severe sufferings under the tyranny of Davoust, was restored to its former privileges and independence. Joachim Murat, having seasonably abandoned the fortunes of his brother-in-law, and signed a convention with the Anglo-Sicilians in February, was allowed by the allies to reign in Naples, and continued to form schemes of aggrandizement, proving a troublesome neighbour to the Holy See. The King of Sardinia recovered his Italian territories, and made his entry into Turin in May.

On the 3d of May, Mr. Wilberforce, the humane advocate of the Africans, again represented their case to the legislature. His exertions, seconded by the voice of both Houses, caused representations to be made to the continental powers to induce them to assist in the abolition of the slave-trade. Lord Wellington, for the victories achieved by him against France, was created Duke of Wellington and Marquis Douro ; and £400,000, in addition to former grants, were voted to him. He took his seat in the House of Peers, and received its thanks on the 28th of June. A deputation from the Commons congratulated him upon his late arrival in England ; and when he waited upon the House to return thanks for the honours it had awarded him, he was loudly greeted by the members, who rose upon his entry. Public sympathy was, during this year, again excited by the case of the Princess of Wales. The allied sovereigns proposed to visit the English metropolis, and splendid preparations were made for their reception. The queen notified to the public, that she intended holding two drawing-rooms during their stay in England. From these assemblies, which it was anticipated would be the most brilliant that had been witnessed in the British dominions, the prince-regent desired that his consort should be excluded. The princess, “ to avoid,” as she stated, “ adding to the difficulty and uneasiness of the queen’s situation,” consented to absent herself from the drawing-rooms ; she, however, addressed an expostulatory letter to the prince, and laid her case before Parliament, through the medium of a letter to the speaker. The discussions on this subject terminated by the passing of a grant for the increase of her annual income to £50,000 per annum ; which sum was, however, by her own desire, reduced to £35,000. The Princess Char-

lotte took a lively interest in the afflictions of her royal mother; she refused to accept the alliance of the Prince of Orange, alleging her dislike to leave England, where she thought her presence necessary to soothe the sufferings of the Princess of Wales. The prince-regent, offended by her determination, and ascribing it to the influence of her attendants, dismissed them, and appointed others in their stead. While he and the Bishop of Salisbury were employed in charging the latter closely to observe her conduct, she made her way into the street by a private staircase, hurried into a hackney-coach, and drove to Connaught House, the residence of her mother. She was, however, prevailed upon to return on the following day, and was removed to her father's mansion, and, not long after, to Cranbourne Lodge.

A fraud practised upon the stock-exchange by Lord Cochrane and several associates, occupied, for a short time, public attention. By the circulation of a report that Bonaparte was dead, they caused a rise in the price of stocks, of which the reporters profited. They were tried by the Court of King's Bench, found guilty, and sentenced to a fine and imprisonment. Lord Cochrane, who represented the city of Westminster, was expelled his seat by a majority of the House of Commons, but re-elected by his constituents. These events, as well as every other object of interest, was soon forgotten in the rejoicings caused by the arrival of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, with their respective suites, in the metropolis of England. The court, the universities, the corporation of London, and the populace, all vied with each other in showing them attention; and the city, during their stay, presented a scene of unexampled splendour and festivity. They remained till the 27th of June, and on that day embarked at Dover for the Continent.

At the suggestion of Mr. Peel, a bill was passed this session of Parliament, empowering any two justices, in any county of Ireland which should be disturbed, to call an extraordinary session of the county, to report its state to the lord-lieutenant, who might issue a proclamation, ordering the residents of the disturbed county, under penalty of seven years' transportation, to remain in their houses from sunset to sunrise. He was further empowered to convoke a special session of the peace in reported counties, for the trial of offenders against this law; and, if necessary, to dispense with the trial by jury. These rigorous measures were the consequence of outrages committed in some parts of Ireland, by

persons calling themselves Carders and Caravats ; for the purpose, as was supposed, of lowering the price of land.

The Congress of Vienna was installed on the 1st of November. The Emperors of Austria and Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wirtemberg, and ambassadors from all the states of Europe were assembled there.* The annexation of a part of Saxony to Prussia, with a proviso that the remainder should retain the title of kingdom of Saxony, and the erection of Hanover into a kingdom, were among the first subjects discussed by this assembly. The Swiss cantons signed, on the 8th of September, a federal compact, which stipulated that no class of citizens should enjoy exclusive privileges ; that each canton, in case of danger, should be assisted by the others ; and that no alliance between particular cantons, to the prejudice of the common interest, should be formed. The armed force of the confederates was to be 30,000 men ; the contribution for its support, £21,000.

The war between England and America was carried on and happily brought to a conclusion this year. Fresh troops were sent over, but the Americans under Brown crossed the Niagara in July, and a detachment under Scott defeated General Riall and his veterans at Chippewa, and soon after at Lundy's Lane, and though compelled to fall back to Fort Erie, defied all efforts to dislodge them. Prevost now moved upon Plattsburg, which he purposed to attack both by land and water. The action upon the lake proved disastrous to the English : their vessels, which were four in number, were forced, after a severe conflict, to strike to the enemy, and their gun-boats escaped, only because the American vessels were, at the close of the action, too much injured to capture them. The British land-forces, while the fleets were engaged, succeeded in passing the Saranac ; but when Sir George heard that the American squadron was victorious, he ordered his troops to retreat. The defeat of Plattsburg created disappointment and mortification in England, proportioned to the expectations of victory which had been raised by the departure of the reinforcements. Another expedition was sent out in August, against the middle states of

* In this celebrated Congress, the chief diplomatists were—

For Austria.....	Prince Metternich,
England.....	Lord Castlereagh,
France.....	Prince Talleyrand,
Russia.....	Count Nesselrode,
Prussia.....	Prince Hardenburg,
the Pope.....	Cardinal Consalvi.

America. The British Admiral Cochrane entered the Patuxent on the 27th, to co-operate with Rear-admiral Cockburn, in an attack on the enemy's flotilla, commanded by Commodore Barney; intending, if it proved successful, to proceed against Washington. The land-troops, under General Ross, were disembarked on the 19th at Benedict. On the 22d, the expedition reached Pig Point, where the national flotilla, consisting of seventeen ships, was stationed. The Americans abandoned their vessels; sixteen of which, before the English could capture them, blew up. The British commanders now proceeded against the capital of the United States. About five miles from the city, they found the enemy, strongly posted on the opposite side of the eastern branch of the Potomac. From this position the Americans were, after a severe contest, dislodged. They moved upon Washington; but their generals, judging the defence of the city impracticable, ordered them to Georgetown. The English troops quickly advanced to the capital, and destroyed all the public buildings, with the records, library, and national monuments, and after this disgraceful act re-embarked. The fleet now plundered Alexandria, but one of their parties under Sir Peter Parker was defeated and wounded at Bellair, and Ross himself killed in an attempt on Baltimore, which entirely failed. The South became the theatre of war. In November Jackson drove the British from the Spanish town of Pensacola, and learning that Admiral Cochrane intended a descent on New Orleans, he proceeded to that city. The British landed on the 22d of December, and took post below the city. Failing in an attempt to dislodge them, Jackson encamped. Sir Edward Pakenham resolved to storm his camp. Baffled twice, he led up all his force to a general attack on the 8th of January, but when he fell, his troops, thinned by the loss of 2,500 men, retreated to their ships. Previous to this, and on the 24th of December, 1814, the commissioners, who during the whole year had been negotiating at Ghent, brought their discussions to a close. In the treaty then concluded, the chief objects for which the war had originated, the impressment of American seamen and the limits of blockade, were not mentioned. The principal stipulations were, that commissioners should be appointed to fix a boundary-line between Canada and the United States; and that all the possessions, rights, and privileges which the Indians had held before the war, should be restored to them. Both the contracting parties agreed to contribute their efforts towards the abolition of the slave-trade.

CHAPTER LIII.

FROM THE TREATY OF GHENT, IN 1814, TO THE TREATIES OF
VIENNA AND PARIS, IN 1815.

SUBSEQUENT measures, on the part of Louis XVIII., tended to counteract the impression which the charter had at first produced in favour of the restoration; the establishment of restrictions upon the press, and the circulation of a report that the king would invalidate the purchase of national property, alarmed the nation in general; an order for the reduction to half-pay of officers not in actual service; the recall of the Swiss guards to the capital, and the removal of the imperial guard, incensed the army; an order for the erection of a monument to the memory of the emigrants who had fallen at Quiberon, and for the removal of some public functionaries to make room for known ultra-royalists, confirmed the nation in a belief, that the abuses, as well as the principles of the ancient monarchy, would be shortly restored.

The formation of plans for the restoration of Bonaparte was the result of the national dissatisfaction. A conspiracy for that purpose was quickly organized, and the violet became the secret symbol of recognition. A rumour that the allied sovereigns, still in congress at Vienna, purposed to remove Bonaparte from Elba to a more secluded residence, precipitated the development of the plans formed in his favour. To induce him to attempt the resumption of sovereignty, required but little persuasion; an assurance that the French army and nation sighed after his return, was, to his daring mind, a sufficient stimulus to undertake the hazardous enterprise. After an exile of eleven months, during which, his time had been chiefly given to the improvement of the isle of Elba, and to mineralogical and agricultural studies, he embarked with his army, consisting of 900 men, for the coast of France. His fleet, which was composed of the *Inconstant*, of 26 guns, and six small vessels, put to sea on the night of the 26th of February; Sir Neil Campbell, the British commissioner to Elba, being then in Italy, and no ships visible from the island. On the morning of the 27th, the adventurers, having been becalmed, had advanced but six leagues. The captain and crew, fearing detection, advised, but could not persuade the emperor to put back to Elba. His determination, though hazardous,

was not unfortunate: his fleet escaped the observation of some French cruisers which were in sight: it met and spoke the *Zephyr* without exciting the suspicion of her captain, and anchored on the 1st of March, at three o'clock, in the bay of St. Juan. "Voilà le Congrès dissous," exultingly exclaimed Napoleon, as he set his foot on the French shore. His little troop bivouacked upon the coast, in a vineyard surrounded by olive trees, and there remained till eleven o'clock on the night of the 1st; they then moved to Cannes. On the 6th they reached Gap, whence Napoleon issued two proclamations, calculated to rouse the army and the people to support his enterprise. He had hitherto advanced without opposition, but was here met by 6,000 men coming from Grenoble to arrest his progress, who seemingly only waited orders to fire upon him. Advancing fearlessly towards them, he exclaimed, "Soldiers, you have been told that I fear death; if there be one among you who would kill his emperor, let him plunge his bayonet into this bosom." "*Vive l'Empereur*" was the instantaneous reply of the detachment, as it rallied round the imperial standard. Colonel Labedoyere, with his regiment, joined the invading army as it approached Grenoble. Colonel Marchand, the commander of the city, not swayed by the prevalent example, prepared to resist Napoleon's entry, but to little purpose; the garrison and inhabitants re-echoed the *Vivas* of the imperial troops, and, pulling down the city gates, allowed the emperor a ready entrance. The imperial army, swelled by the Grenoble garrison, marched to Lyons, Napoleon preceding them in an open carriage, escorted only by a few hus-sars, and sometimes quite unguarded. The peasantry, as he passed, surrounded and cheered him, and in the towns upon his route, congratulatory addresses were presented.

In the mean time, measures were taken by the French authorities to arrest the invader's progress; but as slowly as if no pressing necessity required their execution. Intelligence of Napoleon's return was not known at the Tuileries till the 5th, nor by the Parisians till the 7th. The Chambers were then convened, and a royal ordinance pronounced Napoleon and his adherents traitors, and authorized his apprehension and trial before a council of war, which, on proof of his identity, was to award him the punishment of death. Addresses from the inhabitants and municipality of Paris, and from the Chambers, assured Louis of their affection to his government. Numerous volunteers enlisted in the royal cause, and the court was lulled into a belief of the impotence of the invader's

enterprise, till its triumphant termination was nearly on the eve of accomplishment. Monsieur, the Duke of Orleans, and Count Damas, were, however, despatched to Lyons, and the Duke d'Angoulême proceeded to Nismes. The defence of the city was intrusted to Marshal Macdonald. While this general inspected the fortifications and barricaded the bridges of the Rhone, Monsieur harangued the troops on the virtues of Louis XVIII. and the tyranny of Napoleon, but without attaching them to the royal standard; for, though his personal guard replied "Long live the king," the troops of the line remained repulsively silent. On the 10th, Napoleon's advanced guard reached the suburbs of La Guillotière, and Macdonald prepared to dispute its progress; but his troops, meeting, in their passage over one of the bridges, with a reconnoitring party of the Grenoble soldiers, embraced and joined them with reiterated cries, as greeting to the emperor as they were appalling to the royal princes. The former triumphantly entered, while the latter fled from Lyons. One only of his attendants accompanied Monsieur. The other soldiers of the royal guard of honour entreated the emperor's permission to become his personal escort; but he indignantly rejected their proffered service, assigning, as the cause of his refusal, their cowardly abandonment of their late master. To the dragoon who remained faithful, he ordered that a cross of the legion of honour should be presented. From Lyons, Napoleon issued various decrees; he left it on the 13th, and on the 17th reached Auxerre.

His triumphant march was, through the treachery of the government agents, unknown at the Tuileries. Marshal Ney, however, was despatched to Lons-le-Saulnier, to direct an attack by the army stationed there, against the rear of the enemy; and preparations were made to arrest his progress between Fontainebleau and Paris. Ney pledged himself to bring Napoleon to Paris "dead or alive," adding that he ought to be brought "in an iron cage." Possibly the marshal's expressions were sincere, but his loyalty was short-lived. Upon his arrival at Lons-le-Saulnier, he harangued his staff in favour of the Bourbon cause; but, finding, by the gloomy silence with which his warm eulogy of the existing government was received, that he spoke to disaffected auditors, he retired, seemingly labouring under a severe internal conflict. The assurance of some emissaries of Napoleon, who arrived there during the night, that the emperor's enterprise had been undertaken with the concurrence of Austria and the connivance

of England, that the empress and her son had set out for Paris, and that Murat was advancing to assist Napoleon on the side of Italy, decided the French marshal's wavering purpose. On the 13th, he addressed a proclamation to his army, announcing the cause of the Bourbons forever lost, and advising them to rally round the standard of the nation's choice, that of Napoleon. He joined the emperor on the 17th at Auxerre, advanced with him to Fontainebleau, and thence to Paris. The national guard, under the Duke de Berry and Marshal Macdonald, was placed at Melun to arrest the progress of the imperial forces. The last hopes of Louis rested on its loyalty; after some hours spent by this chosen band in watchful expectation of the advance of the hostile troops, an open carriage, conveying the emperor, Bertrand, and Drouet, and escorted by a few hussars and dragoons, drove rapidly up to their advanced posts. "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive Napoleon le grand!*" exclaimed the royal army, and Napoleon passed through their opening ranks, and drove to Paris without molestation. Louis left the capital on the night of the 19th, escorted by the household troops: the citizens wept for his departure. Napoleon entered it on the night of the 20th, with an escort of twenty men, and was received by the same citizens with joyful enthusiasm.

The king retired to Lisle, where he was joined by many distinguished royalists and emigrants. The Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême made strenuous exertions in favour of the royal cause in the western and southern departments, but the efforts of the duchess were counteracted by the arrival of General Clausel, at Bourdeaux; and the duke, after having held possession for some days of Montpellier and Nismes, was surrounded by the troops of General Gilly, and forced to capitulate. The duke, by Napoleon's order, was conducted safely to the place of his embarkation. The Duke of Bourbon, after having roused the royalists of La Vendée, judging that their exertions could not effectually support the royal cause, accepted a safe conduct, for himself and forty of his followers, to Nantes, and embarked for England.

The Congress at Vienna had drawn its deliberations to a close, when the news arrived of Napoleon's enterprise. It reassembled on the 13th of March, and published a declaration, purporting that Bonaparte, by invading France, in violation of his compact with the allied powers, had forfeited the protection of the law, and shown that no truce could be made with him. They pledged themselves to make common

cause in enforcing the observance of the treaty of Paris, and in preventing every attempt which might be made to replunge the world into the disorders and miseries of revolutions. Preparations for war were made on so extensive a scale as to ensure the co-operation of 1,100,000 men. Napoleon, on his side, addressed a letter (dated April 4th) to the sovereigns of Europe, announcing his re-establishment upon the throne of France, by the affection of the French nation. "France," he said, "would henceforth know no other rivalship than the advantages of peace, no other strife than a sacred contest for the happiness of mankind." This letter remained unanswered. Napoleon, therefore, thought only of justifying his conduct to the French people: of uniting all parties in his favour; and of kindling the enthusiasm of the soldiery. He published a manifesto, representing the treaty of Fontainebleau as violated, not by him, but by the sovereigns, since they had refused passports for Elba to Maria Louisa and her son. In the selection of his ministers, he tried to unite the constitutional and republican parties: Cambacérès was made arch-chancellor; the Dukes of Gaieta, Decres, and Otranto, Count Molliou and Carnot, ministers; the Prince of Eckmühl (Davoust) had the war department; the Dukes of Bassano and Vicenza, secretaries; he exerted himself to recruit his army and to collect a formidable artillery; to rouse the military ardour and national pride of the soldiery; and in order to attach the people to his interests, he published an additional act to the constitution of the empire, in which he promised to combine the highest degree of liberty, with the vigour necessary to secure the national independence. This act excluded the Bourbons from the throne of France, even should the imperial family become extinct. It was published on the 23d of April, but the meeting which was to sanction it was, from various causes, deferred till the 1st of June. On that day, a vast multitude, consisting of the deputies, citizens, merchants, agriculturists, magistrates, and warriors of France, assembled in what was called the *Champ de Mai*. The arrangements were of a most solemn and imposing nature. The arch-chancellor, having calculated the votes for and against the additional act, proclaimed it accepted by the French nation: Napoleon gave it his signature, and harangued the assembled multitude upon his attachment and gratitude to his people, his solicitude for the welfare of France, upon the unjust intentions of the allied sovereigns, and the necessity of union, energy, and perseverance on the

part of the French. Loud plaudits followed the conclusion of his address. When these subsided, he swore to observe, and cause to be observed, the constitutions of the empire. A solemn *Te Deum* announced the objects of the meeting accomplished. The imperial eagles were then presented by the ministers of the interior, of war, and of the marine, to Napoleon, and by Napoleon to the soldiery, with a charge to rally round and defend them. "We swear it," exclaimed the troops; and the assembly dispersed.

On the 2d of June, the emperor named the peers, and on the 7th installed the legislature: when the members of both Chambers had taken an oath of obedience to the constitution and of fidelity to their sovereign, he addressed them from the throne. The replies of the Chambers to his speech, which were four days in preparation, breathed a spirit of independence at once novel and appalling to Napoleon; he was not unmindful that the retention of his crown depended upon the event of battle, and his exertions were proportionate to the greatness of the object which called them forth. Fifty thousand men were equipped early in June, and marched for the frontier, whither the emperor, at the close of his speech to the deputies, announced that he purposed following them. But his forces did not amount to one-third of the number which formerly he had at command, and the general aspect of his affairs was gloomy and unpromising. During his residence in Elba, an active correspondence had been carried on between that island and Naples, where King Joachim, though professing fidelity to his alliance with Austria, had been levying troops and making other warlike preparations. With a view to confirm his usurped dignity, he had made repeated offers to the Holy See of presenting the tribute as was formerly the custom of the legitimate sovereigns of Naples, in acknowledgment that the kingdom was held by them in fief; but his proposals had been steadily rejected. Intelligence of Napoleon's rapid and successful advance upon Paris induced him to throw off the mask, and openly to avow that he considered the cause of his brother-in-law inseparable from his own. On the 19th of March, he demanded a free passage for his troops through the Roman states; disregarding the refusal of the papal government, he advanced to Ancona, and, proceeding through the marches, attacked the imperial forces under General Bianchi, and compelled them to retreat. On the approach of the Neapolitans, the Pope withdrew to Florence and afterwards to Genoa; and, meeting there M. de

Pressigny, the French ambassador, whom he admitted to an audience, he said to him, in presence of several persons attached to the embassy, "*Signor ambasciatore, non dubitate di niente: questo è un temporale che durerà tre mesi.*"* Murat, however, was still advancing; he had made himself master of Ferrara and Florence, and forced the Grand-duke of Tuscany to quit his capital. The aim of King Joachim was to revolutionize Italy, and unite it into one monarchy, under his own sceptre. But his efforts to rouse the Italians were unsuccessful; the Austrians having collected their forces, he was driven back in his turn by Generals Bianchi and Frimont, and his army cut off, in a series of engagements near Tolentino. Naples was invested by land, while an English fleet entered the port and compelled the Neapolitans to sign a convention, (May 20th,) of which the chief article was the deposition of Murat. The city was occupied by the allies till the 17th of June, when Ferdinand IV., returning from Sicily, regained peaceable possession. The ex-king retired into France.† All Napoleon's hopes of co-operation from abroad were thus frustrated; and in the interior of his empire, loyalty to his person was not general: the Vendéans, too, were again in arms for the support of the ancient dynasty. The allies proposed to invade France in three divisions, named from their respective situations previously to their entering the French territory, the army of the *Upper Rhine*, commanded by Prince Schwartzenburg; the army of the *Lower Rhine*, by Marshal Blucher: and the army of the *Netherlands*, under the Duke of Wellington. The Russian armies, under Barclay de Tolly and Wittgenstein, were to form the reserve. Upon the defeat of Murat, the Austro-Italian army advanced towards the south of France: that under Blucher arrived in the neighbourhood of Namur, in May; the Duke of Wellington's head-quarters were at Brussels. The force under his command was 94,000 men, 38,000 of whom were British: the remainder consisted of Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Belgians, &c. Napoleon left Paris (June 12) and proceeded to Laon. At the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, he entered Belgium, with the hope of surprising the Prussians in their cantonments, and cutting off the communication between Blucher and Wellington. After

* "Mr. Ambassador, fear not; this is a storm that will last three months."

†The Sicilians had obtained a free constitution in 1812, through the intervention of Lord William Bentinck.

forcing the passage of the Sambre, (June 15th,) he marched to intercept the troops garrisoned at Charleroi, should they attempt to retreat by that route. About noon Bonaparte entered the town. The Prussians stationed there retreated to Fleurus, where the main Prussian army was concentrating. In this retreat they were harassed by the enemy, and several of their number were taken prisoners. Lord Wellington was apprized, early in the evening of the 15th, of that day's conflict; but judging it to have been but an affair of outposts, he delayed ordering the advance of his troops till the receipt of further intelligence. At midnight, he learned that Charleroi was taken, and that the French had marched upon Fleurus. In a few hours after the arrival of this intelligence at Brussels, the English troops were in full march for Quatre Bras, a village so called from its being the point of intersection of the roads from Charleroi to Brussels, and from Nivelles to Namur. The Prussians were now posted on the heights between Bry and Sombref, and occupied the villages of St. Amand and Ligni. While Napoleon marched with the French right wing and centre upon Blücher, he ordered Ney to dislodge the English from Quatre Bras, and, this effected, to co-operate with him against the Prussians. Ney deferred making a vigorous attack upon Quatre Bras till three o'clock in the afternoon, by which time the British and Belgian troops, in full force, had reached that village. The confederates gallantly maintained their position, and many of their most distinguished officers fell in its defence, among whom were the Duke of Brunswick and Sir Thomas Picton.

While the British were thus attacked by Ney at Quatre Bras, Grouchy's division acted against the Prussians in the villages of Ligni and St. Amand. The whole of Blücher's forces were not assembled, and the French, being greatly superior in cavalry and artillery, succeeded in establishing themselves in the village of St. Amand. In an effort to retain possession of a hollow ditch near Ligni, Blücher's horse was killed, and in its fall so entangled its rider as to prevent his rising; the enemy's cuirassiers and the Prussian general's own troops passed over, without observing him, and some minutes elapsed before he was extricated. The battle of Ligni (June 16th) only terminated with the fall of night. The French retained the field; the Prussians retreated in good order, but with the loss of 15,000 men in killed and wounded, and of sixteen pieces of cannon, to the neighbourhood of Wavre. The Duke of Wellington moved in a direction parallel with

their line of retreat, and fell back by the road of Genappe, upon the forest of Soignies. Napoleon now made two divisions of his forces, with one of which he marched in pursuit of Wellington. Bad roads and heavy rain prevented him from much harassing the retreating army. The French lancers, who pressed upon the British cavalry, were attacked, at the pass of Genappe, by Lord Uxbridge, and repulsed. The English retired thence, unmolested, on the 17th, to the entrance of the forest of Soignies, three miles in advance of Waterloo, where their commander established his headquarters, and sent to apprise Blucher that he purposed to accept battle on the following day. The morning of the 18th presented to the French the English army, posted with their centre on the village of Mount St. John, supported on the right by the farm of Hougoumont, and on the left by La Haie Sainte: by a road which runs from Fer la Haie to Ohain, and by the woody passes of St. Lambert, Lord Wellington communicated with the Prussian army at Wavre.

Bonaparte, having sent orders to Grouchy to push the Prussians vigorously, and to draw near the grand French army and support its operations, prepared to attack the Anglo-Belgian troops. He placed his first corps opposite the centre of their position, with its left on the Brussels road; his second corps opposite the woods that surround Hougoumont; he then took a station for observation on a small hill, in front of the farm of La Belle Alliance,—the Duke of Wellington, under a tree, near the top of Mount St. John.

About noon, Napoleon ordered the signal for battle to be given. On the right, left, and centre, it was maintained till five o'clock, with undiminished obstinacy, but with doubtful success, when news arrived that the Prussians, under Blucher, whose advance had been impeded by an attack from Marshal Grouchy, were advancing in rear of the French army. Napoleon then called into action four regiments of the imperial guard, which he had hitherto kept in reserve on the heights of *La Belle Alliance*. The charge made by this chosen band was of so impetuous a nature, as to incline the victory to their side, but even *they* were, eventually, repulsed. When the main body of the Prussians arrived, Wellington ordered his whole line to move forward: he led the centre in person, and formed the flank regiments into hollow squares, impenetrable to the enemy's cavalry, and to this judicious arrangement may be mainly attributed the success of the day. The French lines were soon penetrated; their right was broken

in three places by the Prussians, who rushed forward to complete their overthrow. A general panic now seized the French soldiers, and the exclamation, "All is lost," echoed through their ranks. Yet the battalion of guards, commanded by Cambronne, refused to surrender. "La garde meurt et ne se rend pas," was the reply of their gallant leader to the summons of his opponents. Even this chosen corps was finally subdued, and Wellington and Blucher remained masters of the field.

The French retreated in disorder by the Charleroi road, closely pursued by the Prussians, who came up with them at Genappe, where they had made a stand, but were soon routed. Genappe was taken, and with it Napoleon's carriage, hat, sword, casket, and travelling library. The Prussians, galloping through the streets, cut down without mercy their now unresisting enemies. The retreat of the French, thenceforth, resembled in its tragic scenes the memorable flights from Moscow and from Leipzig. The seemingly dauntless warriors who had so recently assembled to contend with the confederated legions of Europe, were now nerveless fugitives, shrinking at the very rumour of their pursuers' approach: though these constituted but an inconsiderable portion of the countless multitudes whom Napoleon had ventured to oppose. So firmly, indeed, had he relied upon success, that he had appointed no rallying-place for his troops, in case of retreat. They now, therefore, separated into straggling parties, almost all of which gradually dispersing, left their emperor, comparatively speaking, without an army. Grouchy, to whose non-arrival at Waterloo Bonaparte attributed the defeat of the French, was preparing to march thither on the 19th, when an aid-de-camp brought him news of the disaster of the preceding day. On the morning of the 20th, his rear-guard was assailed by the enemy, but he repelled the charge, and his troops, without further molestation, retreated to Namur.

The loss of the British and Hanoverians in the battle of Waterloo is estimated at 10,678 killed, wounded, and missing:* among whom were 1500 officers: that of the Prussians, 6,000: that of the French incalculable. Ney stated, in the Chamber of Peers, that Soult, who had been appointed by Napoleon to rally the French troops, had not been able to collect more than 40,000, including Grouchy's corps.

In England, the victory achieved at Waterloo excited much exultation. Thanks and rewards, commensurate with their

* All the Duke of Wellington's aides-de-camp were either killed or wounded, except Major Percy, who carried to London the news of the victory.

services, were voted by the British Parliament to the English troops, who had been engaged in this action. Thanks were also voted to the allies of Great Britain in general, and to the Prussians in particular, for the part they had taken in the war.

Napoleon reached Paris on the evening of the 20th of June, while the Parisians were yet rejoicing for the victory of Ligni, and the general success attendant upon the imperial armies; for Suchet had taken Montmelion, and driven the Piedmontese from the passes of the Alps and Mount Cenis; Dessaix, on the side of Jura, had repelled the enemy's advanced posts, taken Carrogne and all the defiles; and the Vendean chieftains, after various successes and reverses, had sustained so signal a defeat, as obliged them to sue for peace. Napoleon, on his arrival, convoked a council at the Tuileries to devise measures for rescuing France from its present perilous situation. He was recommended by Count Regenault and his brother Lucien to assume the office of dictator, and dissolve the Chambers; but this advice was disapproved of by Fouché, and declined by the emperor.

In the mean time, the Chambers assembled. The deputies, at the instigation of La Fayette, declared the independence of the nation threatened, and the sitting of the Chamber permanent. In compliance with a second invitation of the deputies, Napoleon's ministers, Carnot, Caulaincourt, Fouché, and Davoust, repaired to the Chamber, with Lucien, whom the emperor had vested with the power of extraordinary commissioner, and charged with the delivery of an imperial message. A member observed, in reply, that there was but one man between the country and peace, and that one man was the emperor. An animated debate ensued; the result of which was, that Napoleon, finding he no longer possessed the confidence of the nation, declared that his political life was at an end, and that he had come to a resolution of "offering himself up a sacrifice to the enemies of France, and of abdicating in favour of his son."

On the 23d, the deputies appointed a provisional government of five persons, declared them responsible to the nation, and proclaimed Napoleon II. Emperor of France. In a few days after, however, a proclamation, signed by the five, announced that the decrees and judgments of courts and tribunals, &c., should be provisionally intituled *In the name of the people*. The new government chose for president the Duke of Otranto, and appointed deputies to treat with the allied powers, who left Paris for that purpose, on the evening of

the 24th. Davoust, minister of war, was ordered to prepare for the defence of Paris, and great pains were taken to reorganize the army. The English and Prussians were, however, rapidly marching upon the capital; and the Austrians and Russians, though not sharers in the victory of Waterloo, were advancing towards the same destination. The English and Prussians moved in a parallel line; but the conduct of the armies was very dissimilar; that of the Prussians indicated a desire of revengeful retaliation upon the former invaders and devastators of Prussia: that of the English, a wish to fulfil the duties of friendly alliance. The Duke of Wellington, who had spent the whole of the 19th in solacing his wounded soldiers, moved on the 20th to Binche, and there issued orders to his army, to prevent their extorting contributions from the French, (who, he reminded them, were their allies,) or seizing any thing without payment during their stay in France. Louis XVII. left Ghent on the 22d, and, on the 27th, entered Cambray, which the English had taken by escalade, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, who drew him in triumph to the mansion-house.

In the mean time, Napoleon, who had been so recently the object of similar acclamations, after having lingered for some days at the palace Elysée, and made a fruitless request to be permitted to head the French army in the capacity of general, was invited by the provisional government, first to retire to Malmaison, and, shortly after, to embark for the United States of America. On the 25th, he applied for two frigates and a brig to convey him and his suite to America; on their being allowed him, he left Malmaison on the 29th for Rochefort.

The commissioners deputed to treat with the allied powers, reached the Prussian head-quarters on the 25th; they demanded a suspension of arms, which Blucher refused to grant. Two Prussian officers accompanied them back to Paris, but led them by so circuitous a route, as prevented their reaching the capital before the 5th of July. The allied sovereigns arrived, on the 29th of June, under the walls of Paris. To prevent their further progress, the citizens, guards, soldiers, in a word, all Paris seemed in arms. Soult and Grouchy, with their armies, were within the city; Vandamme arrived on the 30th. The fortifications begun by Napoleon had been completed. That the French were actuated to resist the entry of the allies into Paris, as much by aversion to the restoration of the Bourbons, as by anxiety to prevent the disgrace which would result from a second capture of their city,

was obvious. An address from the army to the people deprecated the return of this dynasty, which, they said, had been rejected by the great majority of the French nation; no popular cry dissented from the address, and in neither of the Chambers was the restoration even proposed. Two proclamations issued by the king, (June 25th and 28th,) in which he promised oblivion of the past, yet vowed vengeance against the instigators and supporters of the plot which had reseatd Napoleon on the throne of France, had excited the alarm and indignation of the French people, and rendered the prospect of his return one of interminable proscription. Paris was now invested on all sides. A desperate conflict took place at Versailles, and terminated in favour of the allies, who established themselves on the heights of Meudon and in the valley of Issy. At three o'clock on the morning of the 3d, the French attacked the Prussians, but they were repulsed and driven back to the city gate; and the provisional government, judging that their further resistance could only delay, but not prevent the surrender of the city, demanded a suspension of arms, preparatory to a capitulation: commissioners from both parties met in the palace of St. Cloud to arrange the terms. They concluded a convention, the chief stipulations of which were, that there should be a suspension of arms under the walls of Paris; that the French army should retire behind the Loire: that the suburbs and barriers of the capital should be, within three days, given up to the allied troops, and that the duty of the city should be still performed by the national guard. By the inhabitants of Paris, the news of the city's having surrendered, as it saved them from pillage, was joyfully received: by the army with feelings of anger and despair, and complaints of treachery. In defiance of the orders given them, they rushed on the allied columns, and many skirmishes during the 4th indicated their dissatisfaction. They were, however, by the persuasion of their commanders, induced to submit to the terms of the convention, and to retire behind the Loire. The Chambers still continued to sit and to deliberate upon the constitution. They issued a proclamation addressed to the French people, in which were specified the principles which ought to characterize the future government of France; but what this government would be, or who was to be at its head, was still a mystery. The allies had promised the French nation to allow them a free choice of government; yet Louis XVIII. was advancing to the capital, and in many places the invading army had proclaimed him sovereign

On the 6th, the general suspense was terminated, by the Duke of Wellington's apprizing the Duke of Otranto (Fouché) that the allies had determined upon the restoration of Louis. In the afternoon of that day, the capital was surrendered to the British army. The following morning, the members of the provisional government, finding that foreign troops occupied the Tuileries, and that their deliberations could be no longer free, resigned their post. The peers, following their example, separated without hesitation. The deputies, on the contrary, affirmed that the bayonet alone should compel them to abandon the office assigned them by the nation; and they continued to debate till six o'clock on the articles of the constitution; but on the following morning, when they repaired to the hall of the legislative body, they found its gates closed and guarded by soldiers, who refused them admission: after having protested against this proceeding, they, too, separated. On the same day that the national representation was thus dissolved, Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris. No murmurs announced to him that his return had been deprecated by his subjects; the barriers were thrown open to him; seemingly general acclamations greeted his entry, and the municipal bodies addressed him in terms as flattering, as if the nation's happiness had hung upon his restoration.

In the mean time, he who had been so lately hailed the chosen sovereign of France, prepared to leave forever the scene of his long and brilliant career. Napoleon reached Rochefort, where he purposed to embark for America, on the 3d of July. He delayed making any attempt to sail for some days, and thus allowed time to the British cruisers to blockle the port, and render his escape impracticable. After an interval of irresolution, during which he alternately purposed escaping in a small French vessel, and in two half-decked boats he had purchased at Rochelle, he proposed, through two of his suite, to surrender to Captain Maitland, of the English ship *Bellerophon*, on condition that his person and property should be held sacred, and that he should be permitted to retire to some spot of his own selection. The captain replied, that he was not authorized to enter into terms with the ex-emperor, but that he would undertake to convey him to England, to be there received and treated as the prince-regent might deem expedient. On the 15th, Bonaparte and his suite embarked in the *Bellerophon*. News of this event was quickly forwarded to England. In the frigate which bore it, sailed

also General Gourgaud, with a letter from Bonaparte to the prince-regent, announcing that he had terminated his political career, and had thrown himself on the hospitality of the British people.

The English government, in conjunction with its allies, fixed upon the island of St. Helena for the future residence of the ex-emperor. The *Northumberland*, commanded by Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburne, was the vessel destined to convey him thither; and orders were issued by the prince-regent to the admiral and to the Governor of St. Helena, to allow their prisoner every indulgence compatible with his safe detention. A hope, as strongly as it was vainly cherished, that he would be permitted to reside in England, had almost reconciled Napoleon to his reverse of fortune. His anger, when apprized of the decision of the allied powers, was commensurate with the strength of the expectation which it supplanted. He expostulated at much length, and entered a written protest against the "cruelty and injustice" of which he was the victim, and for some time refused to go on board the *Northumberland*. He, however, at length complied, and embarked on the 5th of August. Few of his friends being permitted to accompany him, he selected Count and Countess Bertrand and their family, Count and Countess Montholon, Count Las Casas, General Gourgaud, Lieutenant-general the Duke of Rovigo, Lieutenant-general Lallemaud, &c. Main-gauld, Bonaparte's surgeon, refusing to make the voyage, his place was voluntarily supplied by O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*. The *Northumberland* reached its destination on the 17th of October.

Joachim Murat, ex-King of Naples, had resided at Toulon from the period of his resignation of sovereignty, till the battle of Waterloo. The defeat and abdication of Napoleon seeming to render his departure from France a necessary precaution, he retired to the island of Corsica. But a restlessness or thirst of power similar to that which led Napoleon from Elba, impelled Joachim to descend upon Naples, (October 8,) in the hope of recovering that kingdom. Addressing himself to the Neapolitan peasantry, he announced himself their sovereign, and claimed their allegiance; but being soon convinced of the hopelessness of his cause, he took refuge in the mountains, where he and his partisans* were surrounded and made prisoners; Murat was tried by a military commission, and shot on the 15th of October. Such was the tragi-

* Some adventurers who had accompanied him from Corsica.

cal end of him who had been surnamed "the bravest of the brave."

The tranquillity of Italy being re-established, the Pope, for the fourth time, returned to his capital: Cardinal Consalvi, whom he sent to Vienna, supported the interests of the Holy See with so much prudence and ability, that the marches of Ancona, with Camerino and their dependencies; Benevento and Ponte Corvo, with the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, were restored; the right of precedence before all the ambassadors of temporal princes, even those separated from its communion, was confirmed to its nuncios, and the Pope, after so many tribulations, had the consolation to see his states in a more secure and flourishing position than they had ever been, since the days of Charlemagne.

The beginning of Louis XVIII.'s second restoration is memorable for the publication of a series of proscriptive ordinances. One, dated July 13th, dissolved the Chamber of Deputies and called a new one, to sit on the 14th of August, with an increase of 133 members. That of the 24th of July, pronounced that the peers who had accepted seats, or who had retained them in the Chamber of Peers during the late interregnum, had forfeited their right to the peerage of France. Another, of the same date, prescribed that the generals and officers who, before the 21st of March, had betrayed Louis, or taken up arms against the French government, or obtained power by violence, should be arrested and carried before the councils of war in their respective divisions. By this ordinance, several individuals were required to retire from Paris within three days after its publication, and to remain in such places as the minister of police might assign for their residence, till the alternative of their removal from France, or their trial before the tribunals, should be decided by the Chambers. A commission of censorship was appointed to take cognisance of all periodical writings. Louis further ordered that the army, which had passed over to Napoleon, should be disbanded, and that a new military force should be organized; the command of the army of the Loire was given to Macdonald, in place of Davoust. The Duke of Richelieu was appointed minister of foreign affairs, and the Duke of Feltre, (General Clarke,) of war. Fouché and Talleyrand resigned.

The first victim of the proscription ordinances was Colonel Labedoyere. He was tried before a military tribunal, pronounced guilty of treason and rebellion, and sentenced to be

degraded from his military rank, and to lose his life. The sentence was confirmed by the council of revision; and the entreaties of Madame Labedoyere, who implored the exertion of the royal clemency in his behalf, proving fruitless, he was executed on the plain of Grenelle. He heard his sentence read with calmness, and suffered with fortitude.

The trial of Marshal Ney was of three days' continuance, and terminated in his condemnation to receive the fire of sixty muskets, of which twelve took effect, and he died without a struggle. General Count Lavalette, director of the posts at the period of Bonaparte's return to France, was the next person of note arraigned; and he, too, was condemned to execution, but was saved by the ingenuity of his wife. Madame Lavalette, having in vain solicited the king's pardon for her husband, repaired to his prison, weeping, as she went, over the seeming hopelessness of his fate, and there habited herself in his clothes, giving him hers. Thus disguised, he passed out, not without some suspicion of connivance on the part of his keepers, and she personated him till his recapture became impossible. His escape from Paris was effected by three Englishmen; Sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and Capt. Hutchinson, who were arrested and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

The revival of all the English war-taxes was a necessary consequence of the return of Napoleon, and the fixed determination of the allies to oppose his enterprise. The committee, to which the corn laws had been submitted during the last session, had recommended that corn, meal, and flour should be freely exported at all times; but imported and taken out of the warehouses for home consumption, only when the average price of wheat was 80s. per quarter. The bill which sanctioned the adoption of these measures, excited much public dissatisfaction, and various riotous acts, during its discussion, were the result of its unpopularity; it, however, passed both Houses, and received the royal assent.

A revolution was effected this year (1815) in Ceylon, which rendered the whole of that important island dependent on the British crown. The tyranny and cruelties exercised by the King of Candy, had rendered him so obnoxious to his subjects, that at length Lieutenant-general Brownrigg resolved to assist them, early in the year, in throwing off the yoke; the British troops advanced into the interior, where they were joined by all the *adegars* or nobles; and finding Candy, the capital, deserted, entered it on the 11th of February. The

king, with a small number of his adherents, had taken to flight; but, a few days after, was surrounded and made prisoner by his subjects, who testified the utmost detestation of the tyrant. A solemn conference was held between the British governor and the Candian chiefs; and the king, being judged unworthy of the crown, was deposed, and a treaty concluded, by which the whole island submitted to the British government. The king was kept a state-prisoner in his own palace for the remainder of his life. The religion of the inhabitants was preserved to them by the treaty, as well as the authority enjoyed by their chiefs.

Various arrangements, too voluminous to be more than cursorily noted here, were the result of Napoleon's downfall. By a general treaty, signed on the 9th of June, in congress, at Vienna, the additional title of King of Poland was given to the Emperor Alexander; the duchy of Warsaw, except a few of its provinces, was united to Russia; and, to reconcile the Poles to this union, representative constitutions were promised to the Polish subjects of Russia and Austria; Cracow was declared a free, independent, and neutral city, under the protection of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, and a complete amnesty was granted to all individuals for participation in past political, civil, or military events in Poland; large cessions of territory were made to Prussia by Austria, Saxony, and Hanover; the Tyrol and the northern part of Italy were given to Austria; the territory of Geneva and the principality of Neufchatel were united to Switzerland; the King of Great Britain was confirmed as King of Hanover, and the Prince of Orange, King of the Netherlands; to the Arch-Duke Ferdinand of Austria was restored the grand-duchy of Tuscany and its dependencies; the duchy of Lucca was given to the Infanta of Spain, Maria Louisa (formerly Duchess of Parma, and afterwards Queen of Etruria) and her descendants in the male line; and French Guinea was restored by Portugal to France. Various other provisions were made by this treaty. Upon the second restoration of Louis XVIII., a new treaty was signed between the allies and France, by which the limits allotted to her in 1814, were lessened, and the boundaries of the kingdom reduced nearly to what they were in 1790. She was to retain Avignon, the Comté Venaissin, and Mount Belliard. France, too, was compelled to restore to the original proprietors, those masterpieces of art, of which she had stripped foreign nations to adorn the Louvre. She also engaged to pay to the allied powers an indemnity

of 700,000,000 francs, and to allow 150,000 of the allied troops, commanded by a general appointed by the allied sovereigns, to occupy seventeen of her frontier towns for five years. By a supplementary article, the coalesced parties bound themselves to concert, without loss of time, the most effectual means for the universal abolition of the African slave-trade. The treaty was signed on the 20th of November. A military convention, subsequently concluded, stipulated that part of the sum to be paid by France, should be expended in erecting fortresses on the frontiers of the states adjoining that kingdom, and that the remainder of the sum should be divided between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria.*

CHAPTER LIV.

FROM THE TREATY OF PEACE, IN 1815, TO THE SWISS REVOLUTION, IN 1844.

A CONTINUATION of the history of Europe up to the present year, would swell this work to a size far exceeding our limits; it will be better executed by the future historian, who, placed at a greater distance from men and their actions, can form a more impartial estimate of both; but a rapid sketch of the principal events which have occurred since the peace of 1815, will, it is believed, prove a useful addition to the present volume.

1816.—The brilliant anticipations held out to the nation, by the speech from the throne on the opening of the British Parliament this year, exhibited a striking contrast with the domestic condition of the people. Great Britain had fought for the general interests of Europe, till she had reached the summit of national glory; but she retired from the contest loaded with an enormous debt; her foreign trade diminished, and her agricultural interests proportionably depressed. Discon-

* Increase of the national debt to the beginning of the year 1816.

	DEBT.	INTEREST.
1793.....	£233,733,609.....	£8,176,336.
1803.....	£601,411,080.....	£20,735,966
1816.	£1,112,417,432.....	£42,149,850

Revenue, 1815..... £75,324,084.

Expenditure..... 126,489,946.

tent generally prevailed, and public meetings were held, in which parliamentary reform began to be discussed. On the 28th of the following January, the glass of the prince-regent's carriage was broken by a stone, or ball from an air gun, as he was returning from opening the session of Parliament. Several acts of outrage and tumult occurred in different places, and particularly in the northern and midland counties, in which the existence of a traitorous conspiracy was affirmed, in the report of the committee appointed to examine into this affair. The *Habeas Corpus* act was suspended, after considerable opposition; and several severe laws, relative to tumultuous meetings and secret societies, were enacted. These did not prevent the party, now first called "Radical Reformers," from spreading rapidly among the lower orders; at Birmingham they chose Sir Charles Wolseley for their delegate, but he was soon after taken into custody. In spite of a royal proclamation against numerous meetings, the reformers assembled at St. Peter's field in Manchester, August 16th, 1819, avowedly for the legal purpose of petitioning for a reform in Parliament. Their numbers are variously estimated, from 40,000 to 60,000; Mr. Hunt, a favourite orator, was haranguing the multitude, when the appearance of the Manchester yeomanry interrupted the proceedings. Much confusion ensued; a few persons were killed, and about 400 are said to have been wounded by the sabres of the military, or otherwise hurt. Mr. Hunt and some others were arrested, and the magistrates received the thanks of the government for the efficient means they had adopted to preserve the public tranquillity.

During the first year of general peace, the British navy was called upon to exert its valour, in a cause equally dear to humanity and religion. The ferocious outrages of which the piratical states of Barbary had been guilty, had long been a disgrace to the southern nations of Europe. Great Britain undertook to efface the stain, and procure the abolition of Christian slavery. Tripoli and Tunis agreed to discontinue it in their states; but the Dey of Algiers not only refused his assent to this treaty, but imprisoned the English consul; while about the same time some coral fishers, acting under the supposed security of the British flag, were cruelly massacred at Bona. Lord Exmouth was, therefore, sent out with a fleet, to chastise these unprincipled barbarians. Being joined at Gibraltar by a Dutch fleet, the united armament reached the bay of Algiers, August 27th, 1816. A flag of truce was

immediately despatched, with the demands of the prince regent; but no answer being returned, a tremendous fire, which continued without intermission for six hours, and, partially, for two hours longer, was opened on the fort. The batteries, though very strong, and gallantly defended, were destroyed; nearly all the Algerine navy, the arsenal and military stores, were consumed by fire, and several thousands of their men killed or wounded. On the day following, the dey was obliged to accept the terms of peace imposed by the conqueror. These were, the perpetual abolition of Christian slavery, and the immediate delivery of all slaves detained in bondage, with the sums which had been paid for their ransom, since the beginning of the year: pardon was also to be asked by the dey of the British consul, in the presence of his officers. The captives thus rescued were conveyed to their own countries, and the sums recovered were transmitted, untouched by the captors, to the courts of Naples and Sardinia. The conditions of this treaty were not observed; the dey, not long after, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of his soldiers, and Algiers recommenced her former piracies.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer had been obliged, by the vote of a majority against its continuance, to relinquish the property-tax in the session of 1816, and he soon after surprised the House, by voluntarily surrendering the war-tax on malt. The marriage of the Princess Charlotte of Wales, with his serene highness, Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, took place on the 2d of May. Parliament granted them £60,000 by way of outfit, and the same sum was settled on them for their joint lives, with this proviso, that if her royal highness should die first, £50,000 should be continued to the prince. The royal pair had enjoyed their domestic felicity but eighteen months in the agreeable retreat of Claremont Lodge, and an heir to the British crown was anxiously looked for, when the premature death of the princess, after giving birth to a still-born male child, November 5th, 1817, occasioned general disappointment and regret. The Princess Mary had, in the preceding year, been united to the Duke of Gloucester, nephew to the king. In 1818, the Duke of Clarence married the Princess Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen; the Duke of Cambridge, the Princess Augusta of Hesse-Cassel; and the Duke of Kent was soon after united to the Dowager-princess Leiningen, Victoria of Saxe Coburg, sister to Prince Leopold. To each of these royal dukes, as also to the Duke of Cumberland, married in 1815, Parliament granted for life an additional income of

£6,000 per annum; to be continued as a jointure to each of their respective duchesses.

From these domestic concerns, we return to some occurrences of a more general nature. Soon after the peace of Paris, the sovereigns of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, dreading the progress of revolutionary principles in their dominions, entered into a treaty, which they called the *Holy Alliance*. Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, admitted, that the prince-regent having been urged, by a joint letter of the three sovereigns, to accede to it, had, in reply, expressed his approbation of the nature of the treaty, and had given an assurance, that the British government was disposed to act upon its principles. These were soon understood to be, the maintenance of the authority of the allied sovereigns against the revolutionary movements, which they apprehended in their own states.

In Spain, a conspiracy, having for its object the establishment of a free constitution, was speedily suppressed, and its authors executed: but the party remaining dissatisfied, were not long before they organized a fresh insurrection. Ferdinand VII., on returning to his dominions, had resumed his authority as absolute king; he had refused to acknowledge the legality of many of the acts of the Cortes, enacted during his captivity; in particular, of the foreign loans they had contracted; and hence the enmity to his government, excited by strangers, whose interest it was to overturn it. He applied himself to remedy the disorders of his kingdom, to encourage trade and manufactures; but found himself involved in a war with the colonies in South America, which for many years drained Spain of men and money, without being productive of any result advantageous to the mother-country. Chili proclaimed its independence, March 3d, 1818; Mexico followed the example: Columbia, freed by the victory of Bolivar, styled the *Liberador*, at Carabobo, asserted its independence in 1821, and Peru dates its freedom from the same year. Spain at last silently relinquished the struggle, and abandoned the provinces to a state of anarchy, in which they long remained. England acknowledged the independence of the different republics in 1824, appointed consuls to reside in their ports, and assisted them with loans, the interest of which was never regularly paid, and soon ceased altogether, to the ruin of numberless individuals in this country.

In the parliamentary session of the year 1817, Mr. Grattan again brought forward his motion on the claims of the Irish

Catholics, which was defeated by a majority of only twenty-four. A treaty for the abolition of the slave-trade was concluded with Spain the following year. In consideration of the sum of £400,000 received from Britain, Spain agreed to relinquish that nefarious traffic on all the coasts to the north of the equator. By subsequent treaties with other European states, England endeavoured to effect the total abolition of this trade among Christian nations, and finally emancipated the negro population in her own colonies, at the sacrifice of a loan of £20,000,000 sterling, paid to the proprietors. The Pope, in the year 1818,* concluded concordats with the courts of Turin and Naples, and, in the following year, with Russia for Poland; and, at length, after many obstacles, which the difficulty of the case presented, with Louis XVIII. for France. In the preceding year, a concordat had been signed at Rome by the ministers of their respective courts, the Comte de Blacas and Cardinal Consalvi, by which that of 1801, as likewise the *Lois organiques*, which had been, without the knowledge of his Holiness, added to it, were abrogated, as far as they might be contrary to the doctrine and laws of the church. The other articles, respecting the archiepiscopal and episcopal sees, were now in part modified; most of the present incumbents were retained, but the limits of the sees were newly defined, and the number of them raised from fifty to eighty. Some partial insurrections arose, and were at different times repressed, by the government of Louis XVIII. That which broke out at Grenoble in 1816, and is called the "Didier Conspiracy," from the individual who ostensibly headed it, was widely extended; but being discovered by the premature movements of some of the conspirators, was arrested by the vigour of Col. Donnadieu, commander of the military stationed in that city, and the chiefs, with many others, paid the forfeit of their lives. The object of the intended insurrection appears to have been little understood at the time, and is still a subject of doubt and suspicion.

At the congress held at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the autumn of this year, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, England,

* As a means of evading the claims of the papal government, relative to the investiture and tribute, the king, by the advice of his ministry, changed his title of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, for that of Ferdinand I., King of the two Sicilies, publishing, at the same time, a formal protest against any rights possessed within the territory of Naples by the Sovereign Pontiff, except those exercised by him as head of the church over all the Catholic world.

and Prussia, came to the resolution of withdrawing their troops from all the fortresses they had occupied in the French territory, and signified their determination in a letter addressed to the Duke de Richelieu, minister of foreign affairs to Lewis XVIII. This declaration was received with lively joy by the French nation. The king not only paid the instalments due to the allied sovereigns for the expenses incurred by them during the war, but also placed £1,000,000 in the hands of the prince-regent, to indemnify those among his subjects, whose property in France had been sequestered in the year 1793. The very short time which had been allowed for the presentation of claims, prevented many of the creditors from being able to substantiate them satisfactorily. In 1826, there remained a balance of £500,000, and the lords of the treasury directed another examination to be made; but no publicity having been given to their instructions, few were able to avail themselves of the indulgence. The residue, about £300,000, was paid over to the commissioners of woods and forests; through the interference of Parliament it was, however, repaid, but the money appropriated to the liquidation of the debts of another class of claimants, who were not entitled to it; and, with the exception of six or seven cases, the original creditors, owing merely to a technical objection, viz: the neglect of former presentation, have been refused their due. It is understood that there still remains a surplus of from £50,000 to £100,000; but the commission is closed. Among other sufferers, the loss of the Catholic clergy, who possessed a college at Douay, was very considerable, as it formed the only fund for the education and maintenance of the English missionaries.

Queen Charlotte died November 5th, 1818, in the 75th year of her age. The custody of the king's person was then intrusted to the Duke of York, and £10,000 voted to him by Parliament on that occasion. In the following month, the ex-Queen of Spain, Maria Louisa, paid the debt of nature at Rome; and so poignant was the affliction of Charles IV. at her loss, that he survived her only fourteen days: about the same time died Isabella of Portugal, wife to Ferdinand VII., leaving no issue. The king soon after married for his third wife a princess of the house of Saxony. The death of Charles XIII. of Sweden, in 1819, made room for the accession of a new dynasty, in the person of the Crown-prince Bernadotte, who ascended the throne without opposition, under the title of Charles John XIV.

The year 1820 is remarkable for the several revolutionary attempts which disturbed the southern kingdoms of Europe. Sicily first set the example, whence the spirit of insurrection soon spread to Naples. Ferdinand I. yielded to the wishes of his subjects, and promised them a free constitution, (in July;) but Austria having quelled a similar spirit in her Italian possessions, and concerted measures with the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia, at Troppau, soon determined to undertake offensive operations against the Neapolitans. The Emperor Francis proposed to meet the King of Naples at Laybach, and agree upon a plan for governing their respective states. Ferdinand left the prince-royal to command in his absence, and attended the congress at the time appointed. Entering there into the views of his imperial majesty, he permitted the entrance of the Austrian troops into his dominions. An army of 77,000 men was concentrated between the Adige and the Mincio, and demanded permission to occupy Rome. This request was refused; but, without entering the city, the army passed through the Ecclesiastical States; attacked the Neapolitan army, commanded by General P  p  , in the valley of Riete; forced it to a speedy retreat; and, advancing upon Naples, re-established Ferdinand I. in his former authority. (1821.) Benevento and Ponte Corvo, the restitution of which the Pope had in vain demanded on his return to his dominions, were now restored to him; and his Holiness, at the instance of Austria, published a bull against the Carbonari, a secret society formed in 1812, from which all these revolutionary movements emanated.

Meantime, another column of the Austrian army appeased an insurrection in Piedmont. Victor Emanuel of Savoy, unwilling to yield to the demands of his subjects, had resigned his crown to his brother, Charles-Felix, whose authority, under the protection of the allied powers then assembled in congress at Laybach, was maintained; the Milanese insurgents were immured in the state-prisons of Austria, where many of them remained during all the rest of the reign of Francis II., and peace was finally restored in all the Peninsula. The Emperors of Austria and Russia bound themselves by a fresh treaty, to oppose every change of government effected in foreign countries by the military; but the court of the Tuileries, dissatisfied with the conferences at Laybach, recalled its minister, the Counte de Blacas, to Paris.

Spain, in the mean while, was engaged in a similar struggle with as little success: in most places the constitution was

proclaimed without bloodshed, (January 1st, 1820;) but at Cadiz, a horrible massacre took place, by the military, who, under the command (but it is believed without the participation) of General Freyre, fired upon the unarmed inhabitants, when assembled to the number of about 50,000, to witness the ceremony of laying down the first stone of the constitutional column, by the civil authorities. The inquisition was abolished; and many convents of religious suppressed. The king took the oath required by the constitution; the royalist General Elio was executed; still the party opposed to the new order of things continued in arms, and a neighbouring power, who viewed these revolutionary proceedings with anxiety, was preparing a force to deliver Ferdinand from the thralldom in which he was supposed to be held, and reinstate him in his former authority. The Duke of Angoulême, as yet unknown to arms, but having under him several able generals, entered Spain, at the head of 70,000 men. It soon appeared, that the constitution was not popular with the bulk of the nation; no battles were fought to maintain it; the duke traversed the whole of Spain without opposition; Madrid, Seville, &c., opened their gates on the approach of the French; Morillo and other Spanish officers were induced to abandon the patriotic cause; these, after reducing Corunna, obliged General Ballasteros to submit; Riego was taken prisoner, and Mina driven into exile. The Isle of Leon, whether the king and the deputies of the Cortes had retired, alone offered some opposition to the march of the French; and the storming of the fort Trocadero, an outwork of Cadiz, was the only military exploit that marked the route of the duke. Having restored the king to liberty, and re-established his absolute power, he demanded from Ferdinand an amnesty for past political offences. The promise was made, but not kept. Riego was put to death, and many, as well on account of this, as of the last insurrection, imprisoned.

Portugal had been emulating the revolutionary steps of Naples and Spain, but met with less opposition on the part of her well-meaning, mild sovereign, John VI. This prince, having lost his mother, the late Queen Maria Francis Isabella, in Brazil, (May 10, 1816,) had returned with his family to Portugal, in 1821, and confirmed the usurpations made on his authority in that kingdom during his absence. The ultra-royalists were, however, dissatisfied with the change; and the loss of Brazil, in the following year, increased their discontent. This country had been raised to the dignity of a

kingdom, by John VI. in 1815; and, determined no longer to remain a province dependent on Portugal, the Brazilians made a tender of their crown to Pedro, Prince of Brazil, whom his father had left to govern them as viceroy. Without the king's permission, he accepted the offer, and assumed the title of Emperor of Brazil. (1822.) He afterwards made his submission to his father, and, through the mediation of Sir Charles Stuart, the British ambassador, was reinstated by him in his former authority. The Portuguese constitution was but a servile imitation of that of Spain; and after the abrogation of the latter, King John quietly regained his authority.

A tragical event which occurred to an illustrious individual in France, in the beginning of the year 1820, excited perhaps a deeper interest than these revolutionary changes, which affected the lives and fortunes of thousands. Louis XVIII. had married, in 1818, his nephew, the Duke of Berry, youngest son of Monsieur, to Caroline, eldest daughter of the hereditary Prince of Naples. On the 10th of February, the duke was conducting his young duchess from the Opera-house to her carriage, when he was pierced to the heart by the two-edged poignard of an assassin, named Louvel. Being conveyed to an adjoining saloon, to the great surprise of the medical men in attendance, he survived above six hours, during which he received the last rites of the church, forgave his murderer, and, with his dying breath, entreated the king to confirm his pardon, a request it was not thought proper to grant. Louvel afterwards suffered the just punishment of his crime. The duke left one daughter, Mademoiselle; and his afflicted widow, on the 29th of the following September, gave birth to a son, named Henry Dieu-donné, Duke of Bordeaux. Suspicions having on this occasion assailed the character of the minister M. Decases, he resigned, and was succeeded by the Duke de Richelieu, and some efforts were made to repress the democratical party. But the royalists were dissatisfied, and thought that the conduct of the Stuarts in England was too closely imitated by the actual Sovereign of France.

This same year, (1820,) in England, January 23d, died the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., and father to her present majesty, who was born the 24th of the preceding May. Scarcely had the grave closed over his remains, than the demise of the king was announced; it occurred on the 29th of January, almost without suffering; his majesty having attained the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign. However differently the political character

of this monarch may be viewed by opposite parties, all must respect his private and domestic virtues; the simplicity of his habits, and firmness in what he believed to be his duty. The Catholics will remember with gratitude that *he* first relaxed the barbarous penal code with which they were oppressed, and allowed them a participation in some few of the rights enjoyed by other British subjects.*

On the accession of George IV., the Princess of Wales, now become queen, returned to England. After the augmentation of her income, granted by Parliament, in 1812, she, with the prince-regent's permission, travelled into Greece; then visited Tripoli, Tunis, afterwards resided near Como, and, on being obliged to leave her villa in that beautiful spot, resided some time in Milan. The conduct of the princess, watched by spies among her own domestics, was made the subject of grave accusations against her, on her return to England, whither she had hastened to claim her rights as queen-consort; a trial in the House of Peers, at which she was usually present, ensued, by the king's command; the minister, Lord Liverpool, brought in a bill of "pains and penalties," which, when it had passed the third reading, he withdrew, the majority for it being only nine, and the public voice decidedly adverse to its taking the form of law. In fact, the queen's cause was made a party-question; addresses poured in to her from all quarters, and her name became a tool in the hands of the disaffected, to increase the unpopularity of the government. But though the obnoxious bill was withdrawn, the privileges of her station were denied her; and in the following year, when his majesty's coronation was performed, with great splendour, (July 19th,) at Westminster. Queen Caroline was not only denied any participation in the ceremony, but repulsed from the door when she sought to obtain an entrance into the abbey. A short illness, probably induced by mental anguish, terminated her life, on the 7th of the following month. She directed that her remains should be conveyed to Brunswick, and the following words inscribed on her tomb: "Here lies Caroline, the injured Queen of England." George IV. was on his road to Ireland when the news of her death reached him; his arrival in that kingdom

* Ireland, this year, lost her talented and indefatigable defender, the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, whose services in behalf of the Catholics will cause his name to be ever gratefully recalled by all British subjects, of that religion. He died in England, and his remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey.

was hailed with the most lively enthusiasm, as he was the first sovereign of his race who had visited the sister isle. The liberality of those whom he had honoured with his friendship, while Prince of Wales, made the Catholics believe him inclined to favour their claims: they were mistaken, as subsequent events showed; but nothing then occurred on the part of the king, to mar their hopes and damp the general festivity. A dreadful famine desolated Ireland soon after, and a change in the currency, effected by a bill brought in by Sir Robert Peel, (1821,) occasioned a great depression in prices and consequent distress in England. The difficulties which embarrassed the commercial world, owing to the numerous failures that took place in the years 1825 and 1826, made Parliament endeavour to establish the banking system on a more solid foundation; and, with this view, it passed a bill for the gradual withdrawing of small notes from circulation.

A plot was at this time discovered, in which Thistlewood and several other notorious characters were engaged, having for its object the assassination of his majesty's ministers. The informant, one Edwards, is supposed to have urged the conspirators to commit some treasonable act, which might lead to their apprehension, as the peace of the city had of late been often endangered by numerous meetings in Spitalfields: be that as it may, nine of them were seized in an upper room in Cato street, after a desperate resistance, in which Smith, the police-officer who first entered, was slain; five of the number were afterwards executed for high treason.

The king, after his return from Ireland, visited his Hanoverian dominions, travelling through France under the title of Count Munster. To Hanover he gave a more popular form of government, and placed his Catholic subjects on a level with their Protestant brethren. In the following year, (1832,) his majesty, after the parliamentary session, went to Scotland.* The festivities which took place in Edinburgh during his visit, were interrupted by the melancholy news of the suicide committed by the Marquis of Londonderry; excessive fatigue, during the preceding session, was supposed to have occasioned an aberration of mind. After a short in-

* The first baronet made by George IV. was the celebrated Scotch poet, Walter Scott. (1821.) In 1824, the forfeited titles of Marr, Kenmure, Perth, and Nairn were restored by the king to their respective claimants, and, four years later, the attainder on the barony of Lovat was reversed.

terval, Mr. Canning was named secretary for foreign affairs, just as he was on the point of setting out for the government of India, to which Lord Amherst was appointed in his stead. The Duke of Wellington had been sent to supply Lord Londonderry's place at the congress of Verona, where the affairs relative to Spain were discussed; and in the same year, commissioners appointed by the two powers met at Ghent and fixed the boundary line between Canada and the United States.

Previous to the last occurrences we have thus cursorily related, happened an event which, a few years before, would have arrested the attention of all Europe—the death of Bonaparte. We have not noticed the illustrious exile since we left him on board a British man-of-war, under the command of Admiral Sir George Cockburne, to whom the government of St. Helena, and of the squadron, was confided, till the arrival of the new governor, Sir Hudson Lowe. With Napoleon were conveyed commissaries from the allied powers, Austria, Russia, and France; Count Montholon, General Bertrand and his lady, with a few others, composed the suite of the ex-emperor. English ships, stationed near the island, guarded the access to it, though it is a kind of natural prison, and, as viewed from the sea, looks like a square bastion of solid rock. Napoleon landed on the 18th October, 1815, under a salute from the batteries, and at the moment of debarkation, the drums beat, and the troops presented arms. Till his house at Longwood could be completed, he resided, by his own request, in a small but pleasant villa, belonging to Mr. Balcomb, called the Briars. At the end of two months, he removed to the dwelling which had been prepared for him, in a situation neither agreeable nor healthy. Beyond the inclosure of Longwood, a strict watch was observed over him, to prevent the possibility of escape; at first, the liberty of riding over the island, which is nearly thirty miles in circumference, was granted to him; but as it was required that he should be accompanied by an English officer, Napoleon would never submit to this condition, and retrenched his usual exercise. Sentinels were posted at short intervals; they demanded the pass of every stranger who was permitted to land, and, on arriving at the gate of the avenue which leads to Longwood house, it was presented to the lieutenant on guard, who summoned the officer in attendance on Napoleon, to show him through the grounds. “Gardening,” writes a traveller from the information he collected on the island, “is the occupation

in which he appears to take peculiar delight. A square patch of ground of about an acre in extent, enclosed with a mud wall, is the principal theatre of his labours. Through this plot runs a straight gravel walk; at one end of which is fixed in the ground a rustic wooden chair, painted green, and before it a stone table; at this he frequently dines alone upon the plainest food, withdrawing afterwards to a bower at the other extremity, to take his coffee. He keeps aloof from all but his own suite; and one-half of the garrison have never seen him.”* Bonaparte complained heavily of the subsequent reduction in his salary; but appeared sensible of the attention of the prince-regent, in ordering a house to be so constructed for him in England, that it might be taken in pieces for the voyage, and put together again on its arrival. He, however, was not benefited by the intended kindness: it was finished only a short time after his death. Of Sir George Cockburne, he spoke in honourable terms; unfortunately, the same good intelligence never subsisted between Napoleon and Sir H. Lowe. It appears from Bourrienne’s Memoirs, that even from the date of his elevation to the imperial throne, the emperor had suffered much from the hereditary malady which afterwards terminated his life.† In the month of May, 1818, a sensible change for the worse took place. He petitioned this year for a Catholic clergyman of the Pope, through Cardinal Fesch, and his Holiness immediately concerted measures with the English government for acceding to his request. The Abbé Bonavista quitted St. Helena, in March, 1821, leaving there M. l’Abbé Vignali, who was treated with deference and respect. This ecclesiastic had remarked the progress of religious sentiments in Napoleon, and had obtained the intimate confidence of the Holy See.‡ On the 2d of April, a servant announced that a comet had been discovered in the east. “A comet,” cried Napoleon, eagerly, “that was the forerunner of the death of Cesar.” The *Gallic* Cesar thought himself warned, but he prepared to meet death differently from a pagan; sending for M. Vignali on the 24th, he said to him; “I was born in the Catholic religion; I wish to fulfil

* Notes on the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, (1820,) by Edward Blount.

† This malady is also supposed to have occasioned the premature death of Napoleon’s son, who was created Duke of Reichstadt, by the Emperor of Austria, and died in the 16th year of his age.

‡ This account is taken from the “*Histoire du Pape Pie 7,*” by M. le Chevalier Artaud.

the duties it imposes on me, and to receive the succours it imparts." He received them in effect, with respect and recollection; on the 2d of May, his fever redoubled, and on the 5th he expired; testifying his respect for, and gratitude to, the Sovereign Pontiff, whose name he often pronounced during his illness.* His remains, habited in the cloak he had worn at the battle of Marengo, were, by his generals, placed on his camp-bed, an hour after his decease; all the troops of the garrison defiled in order before the corpse, each man touching the ground with one knee. The naval force, with the permission of their commander, subsequently paid the same homage, in spite of the opposition of the governor. The body, after being opened, was buried in the spot chosen by Napoleon, beneath a willow tree, enclosed in three coffins; the grave, which was fourteen feet deep, being firmly secured by solid brickwork, closed with bars of iron.†

Pope Pius VII. closed a life full of years and merits, by a holy death, August 20th, 1823. Cardinal Consalvi survived him only five months: in his will he ordered the rich presents which, as minister, he had received, to be sold, and the produce expended in finishing the façades of several churches in Rome, and in erecting a monument to the late Pope. Cardinal della Genga was raised to the pontifical chair, under the title of Leo XII. He reigned till 1829, and was succeeded by Pius VIII., who dying the following year, made room for the election of the present Pontiff, Gregory XVI. The short pontificates of the last-mentioned Popes have been remarkable only for their personal virtues and strenuous efforts to revive the spirit and practice of religion; and for the progress which the Catholic faith has made in North America and in infidel countries; to which desirable object the excellent *Institution for the propagation of the Faith*, established at Lyons in the

* Two of the stanzas of Manzoni's poem on this subject, copied from the above, may be interesting to many of our readers:

"Bella, immortal, benefica	Tu dalle stanche ceneri
Fede, ai trionfi avvezza,	Sperdi ogni ria parola;
Scrivi aneor questo: allegreati,	Il Dio che atterra e suscita
Che più superba altezza	Che affanna e che consola,
Aldisoner di Golgota,	Sulla deserta cultrice
Giammai non si chinò.	Accanto a lui posò."

† The French Chambers have recently voted 1,000,000 f. to defray the expenses of conveying Napoleon's remains to Paris, where they are to be deposited under a mausoleum, surmounted by the arms which he wore at the battle of Austerlitz, and which he bequeathed to his son.

year 1822, and now spread over nearly all Catholic Europe, has very greatly contributed.

The Grecian states began their struggle for independence in the early part of the year 1821; a war distinguished by singular bravery on their part; disgraced by horrible acts of cruelty on both sides. At the same time, the provinces of Walachia and Moldavia rose in arms, under the standard of Prince Ypsilanti, a son of the hospodar, who was long a refugee in Russia. The prince was afterwards arrested and imprisoned by Austrian emissaries. The cruel massacre of the unoffending population of the isle of Scio, in 1821, engaged in the Grecian cause the sympathies of Europe; among those whom a chivalrous veneration for classic land enlisted to aid it in person, was Lord Byron,* who, however, died at Missolonghi, in 1824, before he was able to realize his intentions. Mehemet Ali, formerly Pacha of Albania, and then Viceroy of Egypt, came to a rupture with the Porte in 1820, and his son Ibrahim carried the war into Turkey, in 1825, where he committed dreadful ravages. The French espoused the cause of the Greeks, and fitted out an expedition to assist them, under the command of General Maison. The fort of Modon surrendered to General Durieu on the 7th of October, 1828, and Coron, on the same day, when nearly reduced to a heap of ruins, to General Sebastiani. A treaty for the pacification of Greece was signed at London, July, 1827, by the representatives of England, France, and Russia; and the combined fleets received orders to force the Turkish squadron to retire from the port of Navarino, which it blockaded. Their offers of peace on this condition having been rejected, Sir Edward Codrington gave the signal of attack, October 6th. The French, under Admiral Rigny, received the first fire; but, before five o'clock in the evening, the enemy's fleet was annihilated: a few abandoned frigates and brigs only remaining of this formidable Turkish armament. Ibrahim Pacha was not present at this engagement, but was laying waste Messenia as he traversed it, crucifying the priests and murdering the population. A large Russian army advanced upon the Turkish territory, and soon put to flight the undisciplined hordes which opposed its progress, though, in some places, the loss of the invaders was very considerable. Before Bräi-

* The works of this too celebrated poet should be avoided by youth, as the empoisoned source of infidelity and immorality. The remains of Lord Byron were, on this account, refused the honour of burial in Westminster Abbey.

lon it amounted to 5,000 men. Their advance was likewise impeded by great natural obstacles, which were, however, subdued; the Danube was crossed; the heights of the Balkan were no protection to the capital; Varna, Silistria, and Adrianople fell into their hands; and the Ottoman empire seemed threatened with final destruction, when a peace was signed at the latter city, between Nicholas and Mahmoud, in 1829. The independence of Greece was acknowledged, and her boundaries fixed; Ibrahim evacuated Turkey, and returned to Egypt; the provinces of Walachia and Moldavia were placed under the protection of Russia, whose empire was enlarged; and the fortress of Silistria remained in her hands, till she should receive the payment, by instalments, of a large sum from Turkey. The grand seignior had, previously to this epoch, provided for his own security by destroying the Janizaries, who would probably have opposed his intended improvements. Mehemet Ali had, in like manner, massacred the Mamelukes in 1811; and, having freed Egypt from the Turkish yoke, appears to have rendered the exercise of the most despotic tyranny greatly conducive to the general improvement of that country. He also conquered Syria by the arms of his son, Ibrahim; St. John d'Acre fell into his power; Natolia was invaded, and he continued to extend his dominions, till the allied powers undertook to restore peace between the sultan and his rebellious vassal. Mahmoud died before this was effected, in 1839, leaving the succession to his eldest son, Abdul-Sedjin, aged seventeen years, under a regency. The reign of the late sovereign forms a remarkable era in the Turkish history, on account of the many innovations he introduced, and the vast diminution of his empire. The crown of Greece having been refused by Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, it was, with the consent of the allied powers, offered to Prince Otho, second son of the King of Bavaria; (1833;) a regency was appointed during his minority, and a loan guarantied to support the credit of his government.

Louis XVIII. expired on the 16th of September, 1824, and transmitted the sceptre of France to his brother, Charles X., who was crowned at Rheims with the usual solemnity, and took the oath to observe the charter granted by the late king. He acknowledged the independence of the kingdom of Hayti, on condition of the payment of a considerable sum, by instalments, to indemnify those among his subjects who had lost their property in the insurrection at St. Domingo. He also

obtained from the Chambers pensions for the sufferers by the French Revolution, which were paid only as long as he reigned. With more liberality than prudence, he removed the censorship over the press, established by his late brother; stereotyped editions of the worst productions of Voltaire and Jean J. Rousseau, which had never been permitted in the time of Napoleon, immediately inundated the country, and produced the effect that might have been anticipated; the newspapers, and particularly the *Constitutionnel*, of which 15,000 copies were daily sold, became the constant vehicles of satire against religion and the government, and the republican party increased each year in strength. In 1829, the establishments of the Jesuits in France were sacrificed, by the pusillanimity of the French court, to clamours as extravagant and absurd as they were groundless and void of all truth, raised by the liberal party, with the view of furthering political purposes of their own. These establishments were twelve in number, and devoted exclusively to the civil and religious education of the youth of the higher classes. By a singular coincidence, the returning twelvemonth beheld the monarch driven from his throne and country by the same party.

Alexander, Emperor of Russia, died in 1825, without issue; and the crown, being rejected by the second brother, Constantine, descended to Nicholas, the third, who was married to a daughter of the King of Prussia.

The English soldier had to combat this year on a field where victories are never won without severe suffering from heat and fatigue. The campaign in India, of 1819, which we have not noticed, ended in the destruction of the Pindarris, a fierce banditti, who had ravaged the Madras dependencies with circumstances of unexampled cruelty, and in the annexation of Poonah to the British empire. The war undertaken in 1824 against the Burmese, was distinguished by similar atrocities on the part of these barbarians. Their army was destroyed by Sir Archibald Campbell; and Rangoon, with several other places, being taken, remained in the hands of the victors by the treaty that restored peace. Our African settlement on the Guinea coast was this year (1825) threatened by the Ashantees, an inland tribe, who, after conquering the Fantees, advanced towards Cape-coast. The governor, Sir Charles Macarthy, having unwarily separated his army, suffered himself to be drawn into an ambuscade, and was slain; but his death was soon after avenged by Major Chisholm.

The demise of John VI. of Portugal, in 1826, gave rise to

important events in that country. By will, he empowered his eldest son to choose between the kingdom of Portugal and the empire of Brazil. Don Pedro preferred the latter, where he then was, and renounced his right to Portugal in favour of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, intending that she should espouse her uncle, Don Miguel, to whom he offered the regency, when he should come of age. With this document he sent to Europe a constitution, which, it was said, he had himself very hastily drawn up, for Portugal. Don Miguel, who had been at Vienna since the discovery of a treasonable conspiracy, in which he was implicated, during the life of his father, accepted his brother's proposal. In the mean time, his sister Isabella assumed the regency, and endeavoured to promulgate the new constitution; being foreign to the habits and feelings of the nation, it excited considerable discontent. To maintain her authority, she demanded some English troops, and 5,000 men were sent over by Mr. Canning for that purpose. With these she supported the existing state of things, till Don Miguel, having attained his majority, returned to Portugal. He there took the oath to the constitution, and assumed the powers of regent; but finding a strong party desirous of making him *absolute* king, he accepted the title, and abrogated the constitution. To extenuate this act, his partisans assert, that, by a fundamental law of the monarchy, if the elder brother inherit another kingdom, the crown of Portugal devolves on the second. Miguel ruled apparently to the satisfaction of the majority of his subjects, till Don Pedro, having lost the empire of Brazil, through a revolution in that country, which raised his son to the throne, came over to Europe, to conquer Portugal for his daughter. This he had just effected, by the means of English and French mercenaries, when he died, in 1834. Donna Maria was then declared of age; she married the brother of the ex-empress, Augustus of Leuchtenberg; and he soon dying, in 1836, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, by whom she has two sons. To liquidate the debts of the state, much of the church-property was seized and sold; in consequence of which measure, the Pope's legate was recalled, and the relations with the Holy See suspended. Don Pedro's charter, not being deemed sufficiently liberal by the ascendancy party, the queen has been obliged to change her ministry, and acquiesce in the alterations demanded.

Death, in the mean time, had been effecting great changes in England. On the 5th of January, 1827, died the Duke of

York ; and, on the 7th February, the Earl of Liverpool was, by a paralytic attack, incapacitated from conducting the government. Mr. Canning was appointed his successor, but his declining health soon gave way. The last effort of his eloquence was exerted in an unsuccessful support of the Catholic claims ; he died at Chiswick, having been premier only five months. Lord Goderich was then empowered to form a cabinet ; he soon made place for the Duke of Wellington, who, with Sir R. Peel, and some members of the Liverpool administration, composed the new ministry. It was remarkable for several important measures. The Catholic disabilities had been almost annually brought before Parliament, and had, in 1828, on the motion of Sir Francis Burdett, passed the House of Commons ; but had been, as usual, rejected by a large majority of the Lords. Mr. Canning had not even been able, when in the ministry, to carry a bill to permit the few Catholic peers of England to take their seats in that House ; yet the question progressed ; most of the talent of the Lower House was exerted in its favour ; the Protestant Irish aristocracy presented a petition, numerously signed, in behalf of their aggrieved countrymen, and the Catholic association, revived under a new name, whenever its death-blow had been decreed, with the indefatigable O'Connell at its head, laboured strenuously to attain its object. To the exertions of this distinguished individual was the speedy success of their endeavours principally due. His election for the county of Clare, in the place of a cabinet minister, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, embarrassed the government ; they saw the necessity of conceding what could not be further withheld without danger to the state. The abolition of the *Test and Corporation Acts*, which had been effected by a bill brought in by Lord John Russell, the preceding year, had opened the pale of the constitution to all Christian dissenters : the *Catholic Emancipation Bill* was, after much difficulty on the part of the king, introduced by a speech from the throne, carried by the two leading ministers of each House, and received the royal assent, April 13, 1829. By this act, Catholics, on their taking a prescribed oath, were rendered eligible to all civil offices, except those of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland and keeper of the great seal. It, however, disfranchised the 40s. freeholders of that kingdom, and prohibited the Catholic bishops from bearing the names of their respective sees. An ungenerous clause, annexed to the bill, prevented Mr. O'Connell from

taking his seat for Clare; but he was re-elected without opposition.

The king did not very long survive this important measure; his increasing indisposition was for some time concealed from the public; but at length it was ascertained that an ossification of the heart baffled all medical skill, and finally brought on his death, which occurred on the 26th of June, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and eleventh of his reign. During the last few years, George IV. led so secluded a life, as to be visible only to his ministers, family, and private friends, by whom alone he seems to have been regretted. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, under the title of William IV., who having recently, when lord high admiral, been opposed by the Duke of Wellington, was not expected to retain him in the ministry; the king, however, made no alteration in the cabinet on his accession to the throne.

The situation of the French monarchy was becoming every day more critical. His Christian majesty, with a view to counteract the revolutionary tendency of the deputies elected in 1827, had commissioned M. le Prince Polignac to form a new ministry, of which he was to be the president. Two hundred and twenty-one of the deputies presented an energetical address, in which they expressed their opposition to the new cabinet; their remonstrances were met by the dissolution of the chamber. Every effort was made by the court to prevent the re-election of men who had refused to vote the budget before they separated; but, in spite of these efforts, they composed the majority of the new chamber. The national guard having demonstrated an opposition to the government, was suppressed. The French navy, in the mean while, was rendering essential service to humanity in general, by completing the conquest which Lord Exmouth had left imperfect. The Dey of Algiers, having publicly affronted the French consul, and refused to make any reparation, war was immediately declared against him. The minister of war, General Comte de Bourmonte, left Paris and joined the fleet at Toulon, consisting of 500 sail, under the command of Admiral Duperré. On the 13th of June, it anchored in the bay of Sidi Ferach. After driving the enemy from their positions, the white flag was hoisted on the Turretta Chica, and Algiers capitulated. The fleet emulated the bravery of the land-forces, and powerfully contributed to the reduction of the place, by a manœuvre which was considered impracticable. The dey obtained permission to retire with

part of his troops, his arms, women, and private property; but the treasure found in his palace called the Cassaba, amounting to 50,000,000 francs, was secured to pay the expenses of the expedition. The fort of the *emperor* held out to the last extremity, and then exploded. The opposition papers in France had omitted no effort to mar the success of the expedition; and the general, on his return, could not even carry his own election: affairs in that country were drawing to a crisis. Relying on the fourteenth article of the charter, which permitted the king to amend or modify, if necessary, he published two ordinances, by the first of which he suspended the liberty of the press, and established a censorship over the public journals and periodical writings; and, by the second, altered the law of elections; these ordinances were countersigned by the ministers Polignac, Peyronet, Chantelauze, Guernon-Ranville, Montbel, and Capel. The editors of the papers protested openly against the ordinances; their presses and types were ordered to be seized, (July 27th;) but when the police attempted to execute the mandate, they found nearly 20,000 men prepared to defend them. No precautions had been taken to insure success to this coup d'état; Marshal Marmont was named commander of the first military division; he was left without orders, his men without a supply of cartridges or rations.

The deputies who were in Paris, to the number of about fifty, then assembled, and sent a deputation, with M. Lafitte at their head, to Marshal Marmont, entreating him to stop the further effusion of blood, by obtaining the conditions they demanded; these were, the revocation of the ordinances of the 26th of July, the dismissal of the ministers, and the convocation of the Chambers for the 3d of August. The marshal consented to request for them an audience of M. de Polignac. He returned in a quarter of an hour, and told the deputies the prince had replied that the nature of the conditions rendered any conference useless. "Nous avons donc la guerre civile?" said M. de Lafitte; the marshal bowed, and the deputies retired. The combat soon became general, and after three days' sanguinary fighting in different parts of Paris, in which the youths of the Polytechnic school particularly distinguished themselves, the royal cause was lost; the tri-coloured flag floated on the public buildings of the capital, and the fleurs-de-lis were everywhere effaced. While Paris was in a state of siege, and blood flowed on all sides, Charles X., with his family, at St. Cloud, remained in

ignorance of the insurrection. He had been informed of the disturbance on Monday morning, had ordered the arrest of the revolutionary leaders, Casimir Perrier, Dupin, Lafitte, and a few others, and he believed the measure had been accomplished, because his minister, supposing, as he afterwards said, that it would be done before his despatch reached the king, informed him that it *was* effected. The report of the cannon and view of the tri-coloured flag, perceived by the Duchesse de Gontault, who lodged in one of the highest apartments of the castle, and whose terrors were awakened for her royal charge, the young princess, could not rouse the king to a sense of his danger: 15,000 men were near him at St. Cloud, without receiving any orders to march upon Paris, till, at length, the arrival of the ministers revealed the truth; they held a council, and announced to his majesty that all was lost: that the mob were advancing towards St. Cloud, and that he must save himself by immediate flight. In less than half an hour the royal family were in their carriages on the road to Rambouillet.

Meantime the Chamber met, and invited the Duke of Orleans to exercise the functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. He consulted the king how he should act on this emergency; his majesty empowered the duke to accept the proffered title, with the regency for his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, in favour of whom he renounced his right to the throne, and the Duke d'Angoulême did the same. He even proposed to leave the young prince with the Duke of Orleans, on whose attachment and fidelity he fully relied; but the commissioners deputed by the Chambers to escort the king into exile, and who were present at Rambouillet, refusing to acknowledge him for their sovereign, the project dropped. An offer of the crown was made to the Duke of Orleans, when he met the Chambers, and he accepted it: the ceremony of his accession, by taking the oath of adherence to the charter,* took place on the 9th of August, when he as-

* The charter, when amended by the Chamber, decided that the Roman Catholic religion was no longer the religion of the state. It also abolished the hereditary peerage.

Talleyrand, on taking the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign, is said to have remarked, that it was the thirteenth time he had sworn to adhere to a change in the government, and he hoped it would be the last. The veteran diplomatist was appointed to the English embassy, and filled this post till 1835. He died at the age of eighty-four, May 17th, 1838, having on the morning of that day effected a reconciliation with the Church.

sumed the title of Louis Philippe I., King of the French. The national guard was reorganized, and La Fayette called to the chief command of it.* The ex-king and royal family of France, accompanied by the commissioners, the Duke of Ragusa, with a numerous staff, and several companies of gardes-du-corps, left Rambouillet on the 3d of August, and reached Cherbourg on the 16th, being everywhere received on the route with respectful silence, without any manifestation of triumph or regret. The many private virtues and acts of public beneficence that adorned the characters of the royal fugitives, and the state from which they were fallen, excited apparently no commiseration; the recent popularity of the Duchess of Berry seemed equally forgotten. They left Cherbourg the same day they arrived there, and set sail for England, on board the *Great Britain*, an American ship, in company with two others, and the next day reached the harbour of Portsmouth. The court of St. James's had recognised the government of Louis Philippe, and Charles X. could not land till permission for that purpose arrived. The princesses and their suite, however, disembarked at Cowes. When the necessary leave came, the king, his son and grandson, through the generous attention of the proprietor, met with a polite reception on their landing, and hospitable entertainment at Iulworth Castle. In this noble mansion they resided, till Holyrood House had been provided for their reception; they arrived in Edinburgh, October 21st. There the old king continued to indulge in his favourite sports of shooting and coursing, and, by his liberality to the poor, gained the good will of all around him. The royal family afterwards removed to the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, residing chiefly at Goritz, near Prague, where, after a very short illness, Charles X.† closed his checkered life, in the same sentiments of resignation and charity that he had uniformly displayed during his misfortunes, November 6th, 1837, in the 80th year of his age. His unfortunate minister,

* This celebrated man acted a prominent part in the present, no less than in the first revolution; being united with those who, opposed to a republican form of government, wished to call the Orleans dynasty to the throne. He died in 1834.

† Charles X. is supposed to have fallen a victim to the cholera morbus. This dreadful disease had, during the several preceding years, alternately spread over all the countries of Europe, and it partially broke out again this year, in some of the towns of Germany.

Polignac, who appears to have deceived his master, because he was himself blinded to the state of events, was, with three of his late colleagues who had signed the fatal ordinances, arrested soon after the exile of the king, tried and condemned to death. Their sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; after seven years' detention in the prison of Ham, where the prince's health was much impaired, they were released in 1837.

The southern provinces of the Netherlands, which had, contrary to the will of the inhabitants, been united to Holland by the Congress of Vienna, now followed the example of the Parisians, and shook off the Dutch yoke. The grievances they had to complain of, were neither few nor trivial, but they were mostly such as might have been anticipated from the ascendancy of a Calvinistical church over a Catholic population. The national guard seized the military posts in Brussels, on the 25th and 26th of August, 1830; the Prince of Orange, after vainly endeavouring to restore harmony, introduced, on the 24th of the following month, 7,000 Dutch troops into the park: a furious combat ensued, which terminated in favour of the people. At the same time disturbances occurred in several other towns, particularly Antwerp and Liege. The Dutch troops, under the command of General Chassé, retired into the citadel of Antwerp, which town they bombarded; a provisional government was established; the separation of Belgium and Holland decreed; and this arrangement having been acceded to by France and England, the crown of Belgium was, through the influence of the latter power, offered to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and accepted by him.

The King of Holland having rejected the terms offered by the allied powers, General Gérard set out from Paris, at the head of 40,000 French troops, to reduce the citadel of Antwerp. On the refusal of the commander to deliver it up, their artillery bombarded it during twenty-four days; at the end of which term, General Chassé and the garrison surrendered at discretion, October 23d, 1832. Peace between Holland and Belgium was not signed till 1837.

Brunswick, about the same time, expelled its sovereign, Duke Charles, for having infringed the articles of the constitution granted by his uncle and guardian, George IV. of England, during his minority, and, in many ways, trespassed on the rights of his subjects. In this insurrection, the ducal palace was burned down, except a part of the left wing. The

duchy was afterwards offered to Prince William, who still retains the government, his elder brother having been judged incapable of the charge.

Poland, it will be recollected, was placed under the dominion of the Emperor Alexander, by the Congress of Vienna, which guarantied to it a constitutional charter. This treaty also promised to the ancient Polish provinces "*a representation and national institutions*, regulated according to the mode of political existence, which each of the governments to which they belong, should judge useful and fitting to grant them." These conditions were never fulfilled with respect to the Polish provinces dependent upon Russia, though promised by the Emperor Alexander in the first diet held at Warsaw after the treaty: and the appearance of constitutional liberty granted to the kingdom of Poland, was almost immediately infringed upon, by arbitrary ordinances and acts, which soon revealed the intention of reducing the nation to a state of servile dependence. To this end, the liberty of the press was abolished; public discussion prohibited; the budget never voted; heavy taxes imposed; monopolies created to exhaust the wealth of the country: and courts-martial, which inflicted the most degrading and cruel punishments, erected, to assume the functions of civil tribunals. The exasperated feelings of the whole nation were ready to break out, when the death of Alexander, and the oath to maintain the constitution, taken by Nicholas on his accession to the throne, inspired a hope that the liberties of the kingdom would be restored; but an insurrection which burst out at St. Petersburg, in which many distinguished Poles were supposed to be implicated, served to augment tenfold all the calamities which this unhappy country had previously endured. The prisons of Warsaw were thronged; at length, after the delay of a year and a half, and after tortures and other means had been ineffectually applied to draw from the prisoners a confession of guilt, they were legally tried by the senate, and, almost unanimously, pronounced innocent. Upon the publication of this sentence, the judges were imprisoned in Warsaw during the space of a year, and the accused, conducted into Russian dungeons, have never since been heard of. The sale of the national domains, which was ordered after the coronation of Nicholas, (November 29th, 1829,) enabled the government to place the Polish army on the war establishment, with the intention, as it was reported, that it should advance against France, while Russian troops would occupy its place: the youths of the military schools

and of the university, in conjunction with a large portion of the garrison of Warsaw, gave the signal of a general rising. On the night of the 29th November, 1830, the insurrection became general. It required but one day to deliver the capital: in a few more, every division of the army united in the same cause; the nation was in arms, and the fortified towns surrendered. The Grand-duke Constantine (commander-in-chief of the army) withdrew; General Clopicki was made dictator, and the diet declared that the Russian czar had ceased to reign in Poland. After bravely struggling during ten months with the superior forces which Russia brought against them, and gaining the victories of Dembiewielkie and Wawr, overpowered at last by numbers, at the battle of Ostrolenka, the Poles were forced to retreat, leaving 10,000 dead upon the field. Warsaw was soon invested; battles were fought under its walls on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of September, 1831; and, on the following day, it fell again under the dominion of Russia; the Polish army entered the Austrian and Prussian territories, and laid down their arms. They afterwards retired chiefly into France and England, where they still remain in exile. Since that epoch, Poland no longer exists as a nation;* her language is suppressed; many noble youths have been torn from their parents and transported into Siberia, and every engine is put in action to extirpate the United Greek Church, and completely subjugate the Catholic religion. Their bishops are reduced from the number of eight to four; the Bishop of Cracow, being deprived of his see, has retired into the dominions of the Emperor of Austria, whose troops occupy that independent and neutral republic; the Bishop of Podlachia has, during the present year, by order of Nicholas, been banished to Mochilew; whither a great number of the clergy, after having been cruelly treated, were sent in 1833, for refusing, without the approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, to read from the pulpits the ukases respecting religion, which had been sent to them by the government for that purpose. The university and a great many schools have been suppressed; the order of the Piarists, with their

* One instance may suffice to show the state to which this country is reduced. On the evening of the 17th of May, 1832, when the inhabitants of Warsaw had sent their children out for recreation and exercise, 450 of them were seized by Russian emissaries and hurried to a distant fort. Only 150 reached the spot, the remainder having died of fatigue and ill treatment during the journey; but the deficiency was supplied by the seizure of others.

colleges, those of St. Alphonsus, under the title of *Redemptionis Christi*, totally abolished. Still more oppressed are the Catholic inhabitants of the ancient provinces, as well those dependent on the Emperor of Russia, as those which are subject to his Prussian majesty. The imprisonment of the Archbishop of Posen affords a notorious proof of the unjust policy of the late King of Prussia. It is painful to contrast the prudence and moderation which characterized the general government of this sovereign, with the conduct he observed towards his Catholic subjects, whose religion, nevertheless, he was pledged to maintain in those provinces, which the Congress of Vienna placed under his sway. We have not room to particularize the systematic oppression to which he subjected them; nor to describe the destitute state of the Catholics in many of the towns of Prussia Proper. The *Prussian code*, published in 1803, which militates against the rights of the Church, was, in 1825, extended to the provinces of the Rhine and Westphalia. It formed the chief ground of the accusations against the Archbishop of Cologne, who, for obeying the brief concerning mixed marriages issued by Pius VIII. at the request of the king and the bishops, in 1830, has been, during the last three years, confined in the fortress of Minden. Frederic William III. died on the 7th of June, 1840, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Frederick William IV.

Lithuania contained 4,740,000 of the United Greek Church. These Nicholas (by a law, confirmed July 5th, 1839) has united to the Russian Church, and forced to receive the Greek ritual. Their temporizing bishops, three in number, have complied with the imperial mandate, having been first induced, by worldly considerations, to abjure the authority of the Pope. According to recent accounts from Wilna and Kiow, upwards of 200 priests, who would not renounce the religion of their forefathers, have been sent to Russian monasteries, where, regarded as heretics, and sustained on bread and water, they are employed in the menial offices of the house. A number of Polish ladies have, in like manner, been conveyed from Kiow and domiciliated with Russian nuns, to be similarly treated; and schools for the education of Catholic young ladies have been established at Wilna, Kiow, &c., under the direction of Russian governesses.

The death of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, (September 29th, 1833,) involved anew that unfortunate country in a civil war, which is not yet terminated. He had married for his fourth

wife, Christina, daughter to Francis I. of Naples ; and having only two daughters, determined to abrogate the *Salic* law, which had been in force since the succession of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish throne, that his crown might descend to the elder of these princesses, named Isabella. Having drawn up an instrument for this purpose, he called an assembly of the Cortes, and procured their adhesion to it: his brother, Don Carlos, who had long been considered the presumptive heir to the crown, refused to concur in the measure, and, with his family, retired into Portugal. The will of Ferdinand was accepted by the Madrid authorities and chief nobility, and Christina took upon herself the regency for her daughter, Isabella II. But the Basque provinces, strongly attached to Don Carlos and to their ancient privileges, which they knew it was not the intention of the existing government to maintain, flew to arms. Don Carlos, who, out of respect to his brother, had, during his life, adopted no means to strengthen his party, was then a fugitive in Portugal: with difficulty he, with his wife and children, escaped falling into the hands of the ferocious Rodil, who was pursuing him, by taking refuge on board an English ship, which conveyed them to England: whence the prince, finding that Navarre and Biscay were all up in arms for his cause, privately departed, and, travelling through France incognito, joined the brave defenders of his rights. The historic page will record the many sanguinary rencounters that have taken place between the hostile parties; the campaigns of Zumalacarregui, of Cabrera, Espartero, and many others; the inefficient assistance rendered to one party by English and French auxiliaries, by which means the struggle has been indefinitely protracted; the embarrassment of the Spanish treasury, and the subsequent seizure of church-property to recruit its resources; the destruction of religious foundations and massacre of many of their inmates; frequent change of ministry; renewal of the charter; and, finally, the treaty of Bergara, which, without terminating the war, has made the Prince Don Carlos a state prisoner.

The Emperor Francis II. closed his eventful life, (1835,) in the same religious sentiments which had ever supported him during the many vicissitudes he had experienced; he left his dominions extended and tranquil, and Prince Metternich still at the helm. His eldest son, the King of Hungary, married to Anne, daughter of Victor-Emanuel of Sardinia, succeeded, under the title of Ferdinand I. of Austria. He

was successively crowned emperor at Vienna, King of Bohemia at Prague, and King of Lombardy at Milan, on which latter occasion he granted a pardon, with some exceptions, to all the political offenders, who were still detained in prison, and he has this year (1840) extended it to all.

We revert to England, which, during the year 1831, was not free from internal commotions; the declaration of the Duke of Wellington against reform disappointed the hopes of the liberal party; the discontent of the lower orders manifested itself by nightly incendiarisms; and so great became the unpopularity of the government, that the king, in November this year, was obliged to relinquish his intention of dining at the Guildhall, it not being considered safe for the duke to accompany his majesty. The ministry resigned; Earl Grey was then made premier; the seals with a peerage were given to Mr. Brougham; and Lord Althorp, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the leader of the House of Commons. During this ministry the reform bill was passed in 1832; the slave emancipation bill the following year; the municipal corporations bill for England and Scotland in 1835; the Irish church reform bill, by which ten bishoprics were curtailed, and the value of small livings augmented; the East India charter renewed, with several alterations, by which the commerce to China was thrown open, &c. A dissension in the cabinet occasioned the resignation of Lord Grey; he was succeeded by Lord Melbourne, who, with a very short interruption, has continued at the head of government ever since; the chief acts passed during this period have been, the tithe commutation bill for England, and another for Ireland; the poor law bill for the latter country; the new registry act for births and marriages, the penny postage bill, &c.

William IV. died June 20th, 1837, in the seventy-second year of his age, and seventh of his reign, regretted by his subjects, whose interest he seemed always to have at heart, and respected for his integrity and moral virtues.* The Princess Victoria Alexandrina, the object of the nation's fondest hopes, was proclaimed queen, and, having attained her majority the preceding month, immediately assumed the reins of government. Her coronation was performed with great solemnity on the 28th of June, 1838; and on the 10th of February, 1840, she was married to Prince Albert of Saxe Coburg, in the Royal Chapel, at St. James's, amidst the joy-

* The Duke of Cumberland, at the same time, became King of Hanover, the crown of that kingdom not descending to females.

ful acclamations and heartfelt congratulations of every class of her majesty's subjects. The principal events of her reign, not already alluded to, are the insurrection in Canada, which was, however, soon subdued by the military force, assisted by the loyal inhabitants of that country; the equally ill-concerted risings of the Chartists in England; the victories achieved by the Anglo-Indian army, under Sir John, now Lord Kean, in the conquest of Cabul, Ghuznee, and Kelat, in Affghanistan; the war in China and the intervention between Turkey and Egypt. The first of these broke out in October, 1836, at the Lake of the Two Mountains, and the Canadians in many parts rallied around Papineau and other eminent leaders. A collision took place near Longueuil, and the standard of revolt was raised. Colonel Gore was repulsed at St. Denis, but Colonel Wetherall, more fortunate, defeated the insurgents under Brown, at St. Charles. On this, the leaders fled to the United States, and the insurrection was soon quelled.

Soon after, however, similar troubles occurred in Upper Canada, in which the insurgents were aided by citizens of the United States. An attempt to take Toronto had well nigh succeeded, but the insurgents at last retired to an island in Niagara river, and finally dispersed.

The Chartist riots began in April, 1839, at Devises, and were followed up in November, at Newport, where 10,000 miners, headed by an ex-magistrate, for some time defied all authority.

In India the English still carried on their conquests, daily adding to their enormous possessions in the East. In 1839, the Affghan war commenced, and an English force under Sir John Kean entered Affghanistan, and laid siege to Ghuznee. This strong place was defended by the son of the ex-King of Cabul, and a force of 3,500 men, but after a hard fight, in which 500 Affghans and 200 English fell, it was taken. Cabul surrendered on the 5th of August; on the 13th of November, Kelat, the capital of Beloochistan, was taken, and Mehrab Khan, the chief of the Beloochees, fell defending his capital, and in December, 1840, Nusseer Khan and 4,000 men were defeated at Kotriah by Lieut. Col. Marshall.

These countries were now reduced, and the war seemed at an end, but in January, 1842, the Affghans rose in arms. Sir William McNaghten and 6,000 English troops were surrounded and cut to pieces, only one officer escaping to announce the disaster. Their triumph was, however, of short duration:

in September, Akbar Khan and his Affghans, to the number of 13,000, were defeated by General Pollock; Cabul again fell into the hands of the English, and peace was restored.

Still carrying out her plans of conquest in the East, England next came in collision with China. Opium was an article prohibited by the Chinese tariff: the English merchants had long smuggled it in. In March, 1839, the Chinese Commissioner Lin required the surrender of the opium, and the departure of two firms extensively implicated in the trade. After some discussion 20,283 chests, valued at \$10,000,000, were surrendered. In November a collision took place at Bocca Tigris between two English ships, which attempted to enter Champee, and some Chinese junks, in which the natives lost 900 men. War was declared by England in the following year, and a fleet of 30 sail proceeded to Macao. Canton was now blockaded, Chusan taken by Burrell, Amoy by Pollinger, and then a suspension took place and proposals of peace were made. The armistice was, however, soon broken. Ningpoo was ineffectually attacked by the Chinese, in March, 1841, and after losing Chinkeangfoo, in July, they concluded a treaty in August, by which they agreed to pay \$21,000,000 for the opium which they had so properly destroyed, to cede Hong Kong to Great Britain, and to open the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochoofoo, Ningpoo, and Shanghai.

In America, no important event occurred in the English colonies except the troubles which arose, in 1839, on the borders of Maine and New Brunswick, which, though apparently dangerous, were soon arrested by the conciliatory measures of the two governments. To prevent a recurrence of the difficulty, the long disputed boundary was finally settled by the treaty of Washington, in 1844.

In Great Britain itself the state of affairs was by no means quiet. The Chartists, calling for a written constitution, a real representation of the people, and a due application of ecclesiastical property, joined by numbers of discontented miners and artisans, had already proceeded to riotous measures, but their forces never proved dangerous, and on the trial of their leaders the movement was stopped for a time.

Scotland was meanwhile much disaffected on religious grounds: a large party seceded from the law-kirk, and set up a free church independent of government influence.

The greatest troubles were, however, those of Ireland.

Ascribing many of the miseries which had visited that country to the legislative union of 1801, O'Connell earnestly demanded a repeal of the obnoxious act. To effect this a system of agitation, similar to that which led to the Emancipation Act, was adopted. Repeal associations were formed in Ireland, and also in England and the United States: large sums of money were raised, and by constant meetings and appeals the excitement at last became so great that meetings were held in the open air, which, from their immense size, were called the monster meetings. The chief of these were held at Mullaghmast and Tara, where half a million are said to have assembled. The government meanwhile steadily opposed the movement, and when a new meeting was called at Clontarf, in 1843, occupied the ground by a military force. In October, O'Connell, his son, and several others, were arrested, and after a long and exciting trial convicted, in February, 1846, and sentenced to imprisonment. The Irish did not, however, despair: the case was carried up to the House of Lords, who reversed the judgment of the court, and O'Connell was borne in triumph from his temporary prison. The agitation was not however resumed; division ensued among the popular leaders in Ireland, and many now called for an attempt to obtain by force, what agitation had failed to acquire. Amid this uneasy state of affairs O'Connell died at Genoa, in May, 1847, while seeking in the south some relief for his health, now shattered by his long labours for his country.

France had, in 1830, passed through a revolution, by which Louis Philippe was raised to the throne. He carried on the Algerine war with success, and after many sanguinary conflicts, Abdel Kader, the chief of the natives who opposed the French, fell into their hands. This war, which lasted through the most of his reign, and cost France many lives and great sums of money, gave rise to a short war with Morocco, in 1846, in which Mogadore was bombarded by a French fleet, under the Prince de Joinville, and a Moorish army defeated by Marshal Bugeaud.

With this exception his reign was generally peaceful, and though many attempts were made on his life, and strong parties opposed him, he conducted the affairs of France with great ability. In connection with England he interfered in the affairs of Belgium and Holland, in 1832, and with the other great powers, in 1839, in the war between the Sultan of Turkey and his rebellious pacha, Mehemet Ali, of Egypt. About the same time hostilities began with Mexico, but after

the capture of the fortress of San Juan de Uloa and the city of Vera Cruz, a treaty was made, in March, 1839.

France, herself, meanwhile enjoyed a comparative tranquillity. Though the revolution of 1830 was in fact the triumph of the infidel or irreligious party, the new king maintained order and conducted the administration with great vigour. Gradually, religion recovered tone, and even the banished religious, Jesuits and others, returned to France, although no colleges were opened. A great excitement was at last created by various publications directed against the Jesuits: the members were required to abandon their houses, but they, claiming the rights of French citizens, refused to leave their homes unless expelled by force, asserting their readiness to appear at the tribunals of their country to meet any direct accusation, but denying the right of government to proscribe any set of men on merely vague charges and surmises.

This bold stand produced its effect, and no action was taken: the religious proceeded as before, and even their enemies respected their conduct. Louis Philippe sought to identify himself with the anti-Bourbon party, and in 1840 procured permission to remove Napoleon's body to Paris. His lonely grave was opened in October, and his corpse, deposited in new coffins, was conveyed to Paris in the frigate *La Belle Poule*. Soon after a funeral procession of 500,000 escorted it to the Invalides, where it still reposes.

At this very time, an able scion of the Napoleon family lay in the Castle of Ham, after a rash attempt at Boulogne to raise the people in his favour. This was Louis Napoleon, whose subsequent career we shall have occasion to detail.

Spain, even after the treaty of Bergara, was far from enjoying calm. Christina, who had so successfully conducted the war against Don Carlos, becoming obnoxious, resigned the regency in October, 1840, and Espartero became Regent. Many attempts were made to unseat him, but all failed, and he held the reins of government with a firm hand. A rebellion arose, in 1841, at Pampeluna and Madrid, in which the Queen nearly fell into the hands of the insurgents, but the insurrection was soon quelled. Imitating the conduct of Christina, he, too, persecuted the Church, which had now been stripped of all its possessions. The ministers of religion were promised, but not paid, a salary, and most of the bishops were driven into exile. After a vain endeavour to obtain justice, Pope Gregory XVI. proclaimed a jubilee, and invited all the chil-

dren of the Church to unite in invoking the aid of heaven for the distressed church of Spain. Soon after this, in 1843, a new effort was made to overthrow Espartero, and that able man, without striking a blow, fled to Cadiz and embarked for England. The Queen was soon after declared of age, and by her marriage with her cousin gave some stability to affairs. Prosperity now began to dawn on the Peninsula, and negotiations with Rome gave every prospect of a reconciliation.

In Germany some changes had taken place. Frederick William III., of Prussia, died in June, 1840, after a long reign of 43 years, and was succeeded by his son. William I., King of Holland, about the same time resigned in favour of his son, in order to marry a Catholic lady.

Germany was at this time in an unsettled state. The party which had raised Louis Philippe to the throne of France had many sympathizers in Germany, Switzerland and Italy, who all panted to overturn the altar and the throne. For a time no overt acts occurred; the various powers, by a strict system of vigilance, maintained their authority, but all perceived that a great revolution was at hand. The first scene opened in Switzerland, in 1844.

CHAPTER LV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND, IN 1844, TO THE
CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1852.

SWITZERLAND was a federal republic, in which each canton was absolutely independent as to local matters. Some were Protestant, some Catholic; the latter of which had their convents, colleges, religious orders, and all that springs from the Catholic faith. In the state of popular feeling that prevailed these establishments became obnoxious, and the revolutionary party called first for the expulsion of the Jesuits: this the Catholic cantons refused. Baffled, but not defeated, their antagonists had recourse to arms; a body of troops, called the Free Corps, raised in the Protestant cantons, attacked Lucerne, in March, 1845, but were signally defeated by the hardy descendants of the first liberators of Switzerland, now combating not merely for civil, but for religious liberty.

After the defeat of the Free Corps, the canton of Berne intervened, and by a treaty agreed to indemnify Lucerne, but at the next session of the federal diet this was ordered to

be paid, not from the treasury of Berne, but from that of the general government. This, and the approval of the pillage of the convents in Argau, showed the Catholic cantons that they could expect nothing from their enemies but open force or fraud. They now formed a league for mutual defence, called the Sonderbund, but the council of state dissolved the league, and continued the mockery of fair dealing by a promise of protection to the cantons composing it. Even this promise, futile as it was, displeased the radicals, and a revolution in Geneva took place. In November the diet passed resolutions against the Sonderbund or league. Hostilities were now renewed.

In November, 1847, Fribourg was taken by the federal troops, and a new government forced on the canton, and the people disarmed. The tyrants now marched on Lucerne, after expelling all the religious from Fribourg. Two engagements took place, in which Sonderbund gained a slight advantage, and occupied Tecino. On the 23d the invading army reached the bridge of Gislikon, the key of Lucerne, and in attempting to carry it were twice repulsed : but General Gureer and the division of Zurich at last carried it. The neighbouring heights still held out, but as the invaders had 60,000 men, and the Lucernese 15,000, the latter, after a series of sanguinary conflicts, were at last driven from Roth, Dieriken, and Honau. Lucerne now sought to make terms : these were refused, and on the 25th it surrendered, and a new government was forced upon it by the Protestant cantons. Schweitz capitulated the same day, and the rest soon followed, and the rights of the cantons were sacrificed to the will of the majority. The diet now ruled supreme ; all the religious houses were suppressed, and, to the disgrace of Switzerland and England who abetted the centralists, even the monks of St. Bernard were driven from their Alpine convent.

The excitement in Germany and Italy still continued. Two objects seemed to be universally desired, liberal governments, and a national union, so that Germany and Italy should each be consolidated into a single government, under a single head. This was to be effected in Germany by the restoration of the German Empire ; in Italy, by the union of the several states on a similar plan. During the ensuing years both these ends were pursued, though in different ways. A German parliament, to restore the empire, and break down the barriers between the states, was soon granted. The liberal constitutions were obtained by a series of revolutions more or less bloody. In February, 1847, the Prussian

monarch granted a constitution : in October troubles arose in Tuscany and Lucca ; Sardinia protested against Austrian interference, and Bavaria demanded freedom of the press, whilst almost at the same time reform dinners were held in France, to complete the unfinished work of 1830. Louis Philippe resorted to stringent measures to check this spirit, and before any rupture took place, the Sicilians opened the chapter of revolutions by an insurrection at Palermo, in January, 1848, during which a battle took place and the city was bombarded by the Neapolitan troops. Concessions were proffered but rejected, and though a constitution was issued, peace was not restored. Messina then revolted ; The island soon afterwards declared itself independent, and a few months after the Sicilians elected as their king the Duke of Genoa. Naples itself revolted in May, and was reduced only after a most sanguinary conflict with the Lazzaroni, in which nearly two thousand were killed. The revolted cities in Sicily were bombarded, and with Syracuse and Catania were all at last reduced by the Neapolitans.

The outbreak in Sicily hastened the crisis in France. A banquet, appointed for the 22d of February, was prohibited by the government. On that day mobs paraded the streets, constantly collisions took place, and much blood was shed.

Barricades were now thrown up, and the third legion of the National Guards, and even one regiment of the line, joined the insurgents. Louis Philippe trembled for his throne ; he endeavoured to form a popular ministry, and by a conciliatory proclamation avert the catastrophe, but all failed. On the 24th he left the city, having abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris, and made his escape with the queen to England. The claims of the young Count were however rejected, and a republic proclaimed. Thus in a few hours, and almost without a struggle, fell a monarch, who was deemed the ablest of his time, one who had for nearly twenty years guided the most turbulent people in Europe.

General risings now took place throughout Germany. The King of Prussia left Berlin, and restored calm only by a proclamation advocating German union, liberal measures, and a freedom of speech and of the press. Holstein, a German duchy belonging to Denmark, next rose and annexed itself to the great German nation, and being sustained by Prussia, involved that country in a war with Denmark. In the smaller German states the people demanded concessions, which were in most cases granted, while in others the ruling prince abdi-

cated. Among those who about this time retired was Louis, King of Bavaria, who deserves more than a passing notice. His early career had been distinguished by the economical spirit which directed his policy. A patron of religion and art, he devoted his surplus revenues to these objects, and Bavaria owes to him her celebrated University of Munich, founded to enable a Catholic to acquire science without prejudice to faith, and to be grounded in his faith without detriment to learning. By his encouragement arose the Dusseldorf school of painting, which has done so much for Christian art. Besides these, he erected several magnificent edifices as receptacles for collections of painting, and the Walhalla, a kind of national pantheon. These had won him the esteem and love of his people, but forsaking the paths of morality, he became obnoxious, and in those times of trouble was forced to abdicate.

Meanwhile the great German parliament was assembling to restore the Empire. It met on the 18th of May, and a struggle at once arose between the Austrian and Prussian party, both of which aspired to the imperial title; the former resting on her ancient rights, the latter relying on the support of the popular party. After a long contest the Parliament on the 29th of June elected as Lord-Lieutenant, or provisional paramount head of the Empire, the Archduke John of Austria, by a vote of 176 to 85, and the German Empire was thus nominally restored.

While the House of Austria was thus aspiring to the German Empire, its own possessions were in great disorder. Lombardy and Venice rose, and, expelling the Austrians, proclaimed independence. Austria called for a constitution, while the Slaves in Bohemia, in Croatia and the other Hungarian states, demanded civil rights.

The Emperor Ferdinand made concessions in Lombardy, which were announced in March. but on the 18th Milan revolted, and the Austrians fell back to Mantua, while Charles Albert, the ambitious King of Sardinia, who aspired to the Kingdom of all Italy, entered the city as the ally of the Lombards. The retreating Austrians were pursued and defeated; all Lombardy, with Venice, Trieste, and Tyrol, was now in open revolt. Parma joined them, Modena revolted, and even the States of the Church joined the Italian party. Pope Gregory XVI., respected for his firmness, had steadily adhered to former ideas, and repressed all insurrectionary movements during his reign, and was consequently unpopular with the revolutionists. On his death, on the 1st June, 1846,

much anxiety was felt, and a general revolution was feared, but by the 16th of the same month the Cardinals had elected a successor, in the person of Cardinal Mastai Feretti, who assumed the title of Pius the Ninth. Unlike his predecessor, the new pontiff favoured the progressive party and the cause of Italian nationality. On the 16th of July he proclaimed a general amnesty for all political offences, and in spite of the opposition of his Cardinals began a system of political reforms. A popular government was formed, in which more was voluntarily conceded by the Pope, than the Germans afterwards wrung from their reluctant princes. His popularity now knew no bounds, and his name was pronounced with honour, even in the United States, where the papal power is by no means popular. When the Lombards rose, all his sympathies were with the Italians, and before Charles Albert set out to join the insurgents, Pius sent him a sword with this inscription, "To the magnanimous King Charles Albert, the sword which shall make Italy free," and ordered a Roman army of observation to the frontier. All Italy, except Naples, was thus really united against Austria, but that power now prepared to subdue the revolt. Sardinia had declared war, and the King had advanced to Pavia and taken Lodi. In April, however, Marshal Radetsky and his Austrians still holding Mantua, Verona and Peschiera, began a series of manœuvres between Parma and Placenza, but the Sardinians advanced on Verona, invested Peschiera, and forcing the Austrian line in three places, advanced to Valleggio and crossed the Adige. Peschiera even was attacked. Meanwhile Radetsky, having effected a junction with another army under General Nugent, entered Verona, and on the 24th of May attacked Vicenza. Repulsed here, they engaged the Italians at Goito, but were driven back to Mantua after a three days' hard fight. Peschiera now surrendered, and the Lombards, sanguine of success, annexed their country to the Kingdom of Sardinia.

Here, however, their success ends. Radetsky invested Vicenza on the 10th of June, and after a bombardment of eighteen hours General Durando capitulated. Padua soon after surrendered to the Austrians, who next attacked Rivoli, but were at first checked, and Charles Albert transferred his headquarters to Marmerola. Between the 22d and 27th, a series of engagements took place at Rivoli, Volta and other points, by which the Italians were driven from all the country between the Adige and Mincio. Mantua was now relieved,

Peschiera retaken, Milan capitulated, and the Italians were soon in full retreat into Piedmont, leaving the Austrians complete masters of Lombardy. Thus ended the campaign of 1848, in which the Austrians lost 2,700, and the Sardinians about 4,000 men, the remainder of the Italian army being almost entirely prostrated by disease.

The Slaves in Bohemia were reduced, but as the Magyar Hungarians refused all concession, the Croats joined the Austrians; the Magyars revolted and killed Lamberg, the Imperial Commissioner, at Pest. On this and other demonstrations of hostility, the Emperor dissolved the Hungarian diet, proclaimed martial law, and appointed the Croat Jellachich to the supreme government. The diet refused to submit, created a defence committee and appointed Louis Kossuth President.

The revolutionary party at Vienna showed great dissatisfaction with the Emperor's conduct in regard to Hungary, and when troops were ordered to join the imperial army, the National Guard prevented their departure, and the troops, after two attempts to proceed, fraternized with the National Guard and returned to the city. Vienna was now in open revolt; a part of the National Guard which still declared for the Emperor was posted in St. Stephen's Cathedral, but this was soon taken; the War Office was next carried, and Count Latour, the Minister of War, murdered, stripped and gibbeted. The Arsenal was next besieged; it held out, though the fortress surrendered. The diet now assembled, and electing a committee of safety, sent in a series of proposals to the Emperor, requiring an amnesty for themselves, a change of ministry, a revocation of his proclamation against Hungary, and the removal of Jellachich from the supreme government. This he declined to grant, and as a change of ministry alone would not quiet disorders, he left Vienna.

A part of the Austrian army, amounting to 20,000 men, lay without the walls, but the commander, Count Auesperg, stood neutral. Meanwhile, Jellachich refused to obey the Hungarian diet, who now considering his presence as a Croat invasion of Hungary, sent the Hungarian army under the Austrian General Moge to expel him. The first engagement between them took place at Pakozd, on the 29th of September, 1848, and led to an armistice of three days. During the armistice, Jellachich, finding his force too inconsiderable, began a retreat to the Austrian frontier through Raab, leaving behind a corps of his army under General Roth, which was surrounded and forced to surrender to the Hungarian Perczel.

Jellachich soon reached, and crossing the Hungarian frontier, took post beyond the Lajtha; the Hungarians halted at the frontier and hesitated as to invading foreign territory; they at last, however, crossed, and advanced so near Vienna that their videttes were seen from the city. Both armies now lay for some time in face of each other without coming to an engagement or acting on the city. At last the Hungarians, who had fallen back, were roused by the eloquence of Kossuth, and crossing the Lajtha, once more came up to the Croat army at Schwechat, but were repulsed on the 30th of October. While these two armies were marching and countermarching and Auesperg stood neutral, the Emperor gave the command of his forces to Prince Windischgratz, and declaring Vienna in revolt left that General to reduce it. The city was soon surrounded by the imperial armies, and as all hope of Hungarian aid had vanished the diet sought to make terms; nothing, however, was concluded. Windischgratz occupied the island of Lobau, summoned the city and began the attack. The town-council now resolved to surrender, but as Windischgratz entered, he was attacked by a part of the insurgents under General Bem, and a series of bloody fights ensued, but the city was at last reduced on the 2d of November. Several military executions now took place, and peace was restored, but Ferdinand, weary of the long struggle, carried out a long projected design and resigned the throne to his nephew, the Archduke Francis Joseph. Pursuing the plans of his predecessor, he continued the Hungarian war with vigour. Both parties now made active preparations for a final struggle. In December, the Austrians, under Simonich, attacked and defeated the Hungarians at Nadas, and soon after at Moor and Hodries. The insurgents now retired on Raab, and this they proclaimed was to be the grave of Hungarian freedom. This post was, however, abandoned, and the new commander, Dembinski, after a three days' fight at Kapolna, was again obliged to fall back. The Hungarian forces, in spite of their numbers and bravery, were now driven back, and not even the signal victory of Isaszeg, in April, could retrieve their tottering nationality. This advantage was well followed up, however; Waiser was taken, the Austrians checked at Lossoncz, and the Hungarians crossing the Gran again under General Damjanics, defeated the Austrians at Nagysarlo, and relieved the fortress of Komorn on the Danube. Ofen was next besieged, and taken on the 21st of May, after a siege of 17 days, in which the Austrian commander, Hentzi,

was mortally wounded. This was almost the last triumph of the Hungarians, who had now thrown off the Austrian yoke entirely and proclaimed a republic. The Austrian Heiss was defeated and killed at Csorna by General Kmety, but the Russians were now advancing to the aid of the Austrians, and the Hungarians after a general battle at Pered again began to fall back. A series of defeats, not only of the main army, but also of the divisions under Dembinski and Bem, convinced all parties that the struggle was hopeless. Haynau had now succeeded Windischgratz, and his severity gave the leaders little hope of personal safety. On the 11th of August, Kossuth accordingly dissolved the provisional government, and committed all power, civil and military, to General Gorgei. He then, with several others, fled across the frontier into Turkey. Two days after, Gorgei, who had for some time been treating with the Russians for a surrender, capitulated at Vilagos, and the war was thus brought to a close.

The renewal of the Lombard war, was one reason why the Austrians were so long in reducing Hungary, and eventually succeeded only by the aid of Russia. An armistice had been concluded under the Emperor Ferdinand with Charles Albert. A rupture occurred soon after the accession of Francis, and the Sardinian again took the field in March, 1849, no longer buoyed up by ambitious hopes, but driven by public opinion to what he now saw a desperate game. Radetsky soon crossed the Tecino, with a victorious army of 40,000 men, and after a slight resistance advanced to Mortara. Turning thence with his main body to Vercelli, he separated the two divisions of the Sardinian army and attacked that commanded by the King. The Sardinians, though almost destitute of artillery, fought bravely, but were defeated with great loss, and Charles Albert retired almost in flight on Turin. On the following day, March 23d, the Austrians attacked them again at Novara. Charles Albert, now driven to despair, fought with the most determined courage, but after losing nearly 15,000 men, beheld his army routed in every direction. His kingdom lay at the feet of the Austrians, and he who but a short time before had been hailed King of Italy, abdicated the throne of Sardinia in favour of his son, Victor Emanuel, and fled to Switzerland, to die soon after unnoticed at Lisbor.

We must now resume the affairs of France, which we left under the provisional government formed after the flight of Louis Philippe. While the new government was attempting to organize public affairs in the interior, the Socialists, fearing

rest after all the new government might not be sufficiently ultra, and as unfavourable as the last to their ideas, resolved on a new revolution and a reign of terror. The first manifestation in April, 1848, was easily suppressed, but in the course of May, processions of workmen moved through the streets and at last entered the Chamber of Deputies. Here a scene of confusion ensued: Louis Blanc, and other deputies of the ultra or Red Republican party, sided with the mob, and a new provisional government was proclaimed; but as the mob retired in triumph, they were surrounded by troops, their leaders arrested, and order restored. General Cavaignac was now appointed Minister of War.

The time for the elections having arrived, they took place in great tranquillity. Louis Napoleon was elected a member; but a still more striking feature was the election of several members of the clergy. From the outset they had as a body sided with the new government, and as citizens taken their part in public affairs. Many now presented themselves as candidates, and several bishops and priests—among others, the Dominican Lacordaire, in the habit of his order—took their seats in the House with their fellow deputies. This frank and manly course did more than any previous step to dispel prejudice—religion and its ministers, already respected, now gained a new title to public esteem.

The Assembly, once in operation, began to draw off the workmen in the national shops, in order to diminish the danger. Three thousand were detailed to the provinces; but they immediately returned to Paris and the revolt began.

Barricades were thrown up on the 22d of June, and a new civil war began. The first blood was shed at the Porte St. Denis, where the National Guard was twice repulsed. By the 24th one half of Paris was fortified by the insurgents, and the Assembly, investing Cavaignac with dictatorial powers, declared itself in permanent session. The battle now commenced; the troops, ably commanded, gained ground, though but slowly. A bloody fight took place at the Pantheon and Clos St. Lazare, and the left bank of the Seine was at last subdued, but not before Afre, Archbishop of Paris, who had gone to the barricades to urge the people to desist, had fallen a victim to his zeal. The Faubourg St. Antoine still held out, and was reduced only by shells and red-hot balls, for Cavaignac, finding it useless to confine the attack to the barricades, bombarded the houses. The insurrection was thus at last quelled, but only at a frightful loss of life; seven generals

and four members of Assembly were killed, and at least four thousand men killed or severely wounded.

The vigour displayed by the provisional government in this crisis raised the confidence of all, and the remainder of the year passed unmarked by any event of moment. All attention was meanwhile devoted to the framing of the new constitution, which was adopted in November. By its provisions the executive power was vested in a President, to be chosen every four years, and an election was almost immediately held. Three prominent candidates appeared: Louis Napoleon, trusting to his family name; Cavaignac, the deliverer of Paris; and Ledru Rollin, the candidate of the Red Republicans. Of these, the first was elected by a majority of nearly four millions, and entered at once on the duties of his office.

About this time troubles began in Rome. Pius IX., once the idol of the liberal party, had now become an object of their hate. In vain had he granted a constitutional government, investing the people for the first time with a share in the direction of affairs. In vain he had sympathized with the Lombards and prevented the Austrians from entering his territory. There was a fever for republics, and nothing could save him. Determined to leave him merely nominal power, his enemies began by assassinating his prime minister, Rossi. The mob then entered the palace and stabbed Cardinal Palma in the presence of the Pope, and demanded a war of independence against Austria and a constituent assembly. He granted a new ministry, but was now a prisoner in his palace, closely guarded by the insurgents. This state of affairs continued till the 24th of November, when after a week's confinement, Pius IX., by the aid of the Bavarian envoy and his wife, assisted by the French ambassador, escaped in disguise from the palace and Rome to Gaeta, in the Kingdom of Naples.

The revolutionary party now ruled at Rome, and a scene of pillage and assassination followed. Disregarding the commission left by the fugitive Pontiff, they dissolved the Roman Chamber and convened a constituent assembly. The scum of Italy now gathered in at Rome, and these men, who sought only blood and rapine, sullied the name of Republic by giving it to their government. The name need not deceive us; there is nothing in common between these would-be founders of republics and the calm and dignified fathers of our own commonwealths.

The French public had maintained public tranquillity by its

firmness and energy. After subduing the Socialists of Paris, it looked with no kindly eyes on Mazzini and the Socialists of Italy. Early in 1850 the French Republic resolved to restore Pius IX. to Rome; by the middle of April a French force landed at Civita Vecchia and advanced on Rome. The revolutionists, commanded by Garibaldi, resolved to defend the city to the last. So vigorously did they carry out their resolve, that the French, in the first attack on the 29th of April, were repulsed with the loss of 600 men. The city was now regularly besieged, and the revolutionists, when Bologna was taken by the Austrians, and another foreign army was thus within the territory, saw the hopelessness of a cause which had never received the general support of the Roman people. The city accordingly surrendered to General Oudinot on the 2d of July, and Garibaldi escaped with some three or four thousand men. In August the French resigned the direction of affairs to commissioners deputed by the Pope, and Pius IX. soon after issued a manifesto, promising reform, and when peace was finally restored, returned to Rome, in April, 1851.

Every state on the Continent, from the Pyrenees to Russia, had been racked by civil dissensions, except Belgium and Holland, where the sovereigns, by the readiness which they evinced to meet the wishes of loyal citizens for reform, disarmed all opposition.

Spain was not disturbed within, but attempts were made in the summers of 1850 and 1851 to excite a revolution in Cuba, the richest of her colonies. The parties in these attempts were Spanish refugees and sympathizers in the United States, headed by Narciso Lopez, formerly a General in the Spanish service. The United States had just concluded a successful war with Mexico, and from her disbanded armies many were easily drawn into schemes of revolution. In the second attempt, Lopez and his party, after repulsing one Spanish detachment, were finally dispersed, and most of the leaders taken and executed at Havana.

During all these troubles the British Isles enjoyed a comparative calm. Famine and disease desolated Ireland and drove many into voluntary exile, while a spirit of disaffection, fomented by a few, at last ended in an attempted rebellion, in 1848, in consequence of which William Smith O'Brien, M. P., and some others, were arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but transported for life. The only other topic of public interest was the establishment of a regular hierarchy in the Catholic Church in England, instead of the provisional one

which had been continued since the period of the Reformation. This step on the part of Pope Pius was merely a change of names, as far as the people at large were concerned, while it secured the English Catholics a regular, instead of a provisional, hierarchy. Dr. Wiseman, long known for his scientific works, republished for the use of Protestant seminaries in this country, was honoured with the rank of Cardinal. On this, an excitement ensued, which, to sensible men at a distance, seemed perfectly at variance with the good sense of an intelligent people. Yielding to the public clamours, new penal laws were passed: the Catholic bishops were made liable to fine and imprisonment, convents to searches at any hour of the day or night, at the mere whim of a magistrate, and all public demonstration of the Catholic faith forbidden under severe penalties. Thus England, while aiding all the revolutionary parties on the Continent as the guardian of civil liberty, showed her love of it by depriving her own subjects of religious freedom.

In the English colonies affairs were by no means tranquil. At the Cape of Good Hope a desolating war was carried on by the Hottentots, Boers, and Caffres, which has continued to the present, and been attended with great loss of life and property, and proved a great detriment to the colony. In India, the war against the Sikhs was still carried on. They were defeated by Lord Gough at Ramnuggur, in November, 1848, and after an indecisive battle at Chillianwallah in January, again defeated at Goojerat, in February. In this battle, which lasted from seven in the morning till four in the afternoon, the English lost a thousand men, but Shereefingh was so broken in his resources, that the residue of his army surrendered.

The German troubles, which continued latest, were those in Holstein. Denmark had manfully resisted the combined German armies, and after a number of severe battles at Dappeln, Eckenforde, Frederica, Rastadt, Idstedt, the war was at last closed by the treaty of Olmutz, in December, 1850, by which Denmark retained her provinces.

Prussia had, as we have seen, aspired to the imperial dignity. After the resignation of the Archduke John, as paramount head of the Empire, and the virtual dissolution of the parliament, a league was formed at Erfurt in which Prussia had the controlling influence. At this, Austria took umbrage, and a war nearly ensued. The opposite armies were actually in sight of each other in November, 1850, and the Prussian monarch called out the whole disposable force of his king-

dom; but he at last complied with the demands of Austria, the league was dissolved, and peace restored.

All remained quiet in France till December, 1851, when Napoleon dissolved the National Assembly and Council of State, and, restoring universal suffrage, called for the voice of the people on his project for a new government, the chief features of which were an executive for ten years, with power to choose his ministers, a council of state, legislative corps, and second assembly. The voice of the people approved his step, and delegated to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution. Re-elected President, Napoleon spent the ensuing year in visiting the various departments, to prepare for his next step, the restoration of the empire, which he effected in December, 1852, and assumed the title of Napoleon III.

Most of the German states had already annulled the constitutions of 1848, and thus all Europe had fallen back into nearly the same position as before the great political tornado.

CHAPTER LVI.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE IN FRANCE, 1852,
TO THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE VATICAN,
DECEMBER, 1869.

NAPOLEON at once proceeded to consolidate the new empire: in default of direct heirs, his uncle Jerome with his descendants by his second wife were to succeed, ignoring his children by his real wife, Miss Patterson of Baltimore. But on the 29th of January, 1853, the Emperor married Eugenia de Montijo, Countess of Teba, a Spanish lady, who soon won the hearts of the best portion of the French people. The birth of a Prince Imperial gave hopes of the continuance of the dynasty.

In the government of the empire Napoleon sought to make France the arbiter of Europe. Among his objects were the expulsion of Austria from Italy; the union of the various Italian powers into a confederacy; a check to the influence of Russia, and the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine. In internal affairs he de-

voted himself wisely to develop the industrial forces, commerce, and material wealth of his people; but the intense republicans of France did not forgive his assumption of royalty, and those of Italy, never grateful for what he did, hated him with an intensity of hate for his constant protection of the Pope. This led in 1858 to an attempt made on his life by Orsini and other Italian refugees at Paris.

Napoleon from the outset cultivated harmonious relations with England, and was ably supported in this wise policy by Lord Palmerston. In most of the great movements of this period England and France fought side by side, a spectacle seldom witnessed except in the days of the Crusades. Meanwhile Russia, claiming a protectorate over the Greek Church throughout the East, began a series of demands upon the Turkish government of a most imperious character. The Sultan, having in May, 1853, declined to yield, the Russian Emperor announced in June his intention of invading the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. France and England had not however been indifferent spectators of this project of Russian aggrandizement. Representatives from those two countries, as well as of Austria and Prussia, meeting in conference, agreed upon propositions, which were submitted to the Czar, and accepted by him. The Porte, however, declined to accept the Vienna note without certain modifications, to which the Czar declined to accede, and on the 1st of November he formally declared war against Turkey.

The first engagement took place at Oltenitza, on the 4th of November, and gave the Turks fresh courage, though they subsequently fell back across the Danube, holding the Russians in check. The Russians then besieged Silistria; but after a siege of 39 days, in which they lost 12,000 men, retreated across the Danube, pursued by the Turks, who lost their commander, Moussa Pacha, in the moment of victory. The barbarous destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope, and of the town itself by the Russians, on the 30th, led to a remonstrance from France and England, who insisted that their combined fleet should have the command of the Black Sea. On this the Russian fleet retired within the defences of Sebastopol, a strongly fortified port in the Crimea. An ineffectual attempt to avert a general war failed, and all

prepared to act with vigor. An English fleet under Sir Charles Napier proceeded to the Baltic in March, bombarded Sweaborg, and captured Bomarsund, but obtained no decisive advantage. The real operations were conducted on the Black Sea. A French army under Marshal St. Arnaud, and an English army under Lord Raglan, proceeded to that quarter. After bombarding Odessa, the two armies, losing severely by cholera at Sarna, were joined by the Turkish army, and landed on the 14th of September, 1854, in the Crimea, a few miles north of Sebastopol, the real object of the war, and the key to Russian power on the Black Sea. In the bloody battle of the Alma, on the 20th, the Russians, forced from a strong position by the English, fled, leaving 4,000 killed and 700 wounded on the field, and 700 prisoners. At this unexpected reverse they sunk their fleet at the entrance of the harbor of Sebastopol, ensuring it from capture, and preventing the entrance of the allied fleet. Sebastopol was, however, completely invested.

On the 25th of October the Russians made an effort to raise the siege. They moved out in force to attack the allies at Balaclava, but though they renewed the attempt on the following day, were defeated on both occasions, and compelled to retire with severe loss. This battle is famous in English poetry and history for the famous charge of the Light Brigade, under Lord Cardigan, who in obedience to a mistaken order, charged the Russian batteries under the cross-fire of the enemy, and captured the guns, losing, however, 409 out of 607 men.

Not disheartened by their failures, the Russians, on the 5th of November, moved out in full force to the number of 50,000, covered by their guns, and attacked the allies at Inkerman, but after a terrible struggle, in which the allies lost over 4,000 men, and the Russians nearly three times as many, the Russians sullenly retreated across the bridge of Inkerman.

Nor were the Russians more fortunate in their attack on Eupatoria (February 17th, 1855). After a combat of four hours they withdrew, the Turkish general, Omar Pasha, gaining a decided victory.

Under this load of disasters the Czar Nicholas sank, dying on the 2d of March, of pulmonary apoplexy. His reign had been signalized by his fanatical spirit, evinced in his persecution of his Catholic subjects of the Latin

and United Greek Churches, and in his pretensions to direct all the Oriental Christians. He was succeeded by Alexander II.

The change of sovereign made no alteration in the war. The allies, joined now by Sardinia, continued the siege of Sebastopol, the French being commanded by General Canrobert, after the death of Marshal St. Arnaud by cholera. On the 7th of June, General Pelissier, who succeeded Canrobert, attacked and carried the Mamelon, capturing all the Russian guns and many prisoners; but a combined French and English attack on the Malakoff, on the 18th, was repulsed by the Russians with severe losses on both sides. This was followed by the death of Lord Raglan, who was succeeded in command by General Simpson, Sir George Brown as a Catholic being unable by law to assume command of an army.

On the 5th of September the French attacked and carried the Malakoff, at a loss of 7,500 men in killed, wounded, and missing, on which the English attacked but failed to carry the Redan, losing about 2,500 men. During the night, however, the Russians gave up the contest, and blowing up their arsenals, with Fort Alexander, and the Grand Magazine, retreated. The siege had lasted 349 days.

Soon after the Russians suffered a severe repulse before Kars in Asia Minor, Colonel Williams, commanding the Turks, defeating General Mouravieff with the loss of 5,000 men; but Mouravieff continued the siege, and though Omar Pasha, marching to the relief of Kars, defeated the Russians at the passage of the Ingour, he could not save the place, which surrendered on the 28th of November.

This was the last active operation, and peace was concluded at Paris, March 30th, 1856. By its provisions Turkey was to be admitted to participate in the public law and system of Europe; the Black Sea to be thrown open to commerce, and no war flag permitted on it. All the boundaries were to be restored as before the war.

England has seldom been at peace abroad. The Caffres attacked the colony at the Cape of Good Hope, and were not reduced till 1853. In the same year the outrages of the governor of Rangoon on British subjects led to a war with Burmah, in which England wrested Pegu from that kingdom. In India the extensive king-

dom of Oude was annexed in 1856, and the next year war was made on Persia, for alleged infractions of a treaty. An English army under Outram defeated the Shah at Barazjoon, and compelled him to submit to English dictation.

But while thus extending her power on all sides in India, its very existence was imperilled by a terribly unexpected blow. A large part of the army in India consisted of natives, Hindoos, and Mahomedans, who were styled Sepoys. Among these suddenly great discontent prevailed, chiefly in regard to the Enfield cartridges which were greased with the fat of hogs and cows, and being thus according to their religion unclean could not be handled or bit off. As the English authorities instead of attempting to satisfy their prejudice, resorted to harshness, a widespread revolt was planned. On the 10th of May, 1857, the Sepoys at Meerut mutinied and butchered all the English they could find, men, women, and children. Having been driven out by the carabineers they fled to Delhi, where others joined them, and similar massacres ensued. By the end of June the Sepoys had revolted at twenty-two stations in the Bengal presidency.

The English commander-in-chief, General Anson, at once marched on Delhi, but dying on the way, his successor, Sir H. Barnard, laid siege to the place. The commander at Cawnpore, Sir Hugh Wheeler, seeing a mutiny imminent formed an intrenched camp, into which he retired with all the English residents. When the Sepoys mutinied they proceeded to the camp of Nana Sahib, Chief of Bithoor, the head of the insurgents. That able but cruel prince at once invested General Wheeler, and failing to reduce him by force, on the 24th of June offered to allow him to withdraw to Allahabad. The troops lured out by this device were massacred while embarking, and some days after the women and children were butchered with the utmost cruelty. In Lucknow, Sir Henry Lawrence, and on his fall Colonel Inglis, held out bravely against terrible odds; General Havelock, who marched to his relief with 1,400 men, and eight guns, defeated the rebels at Unao, on the 29th of July, but was unable to reach Lucknow, his force having, in nine engagements with the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, been reduced to 700 men. Having been

re-enforced by General Outram he again advanced, defeating the enemy at Mungulwar and Alumbagh, and on the 25th of September relieved Lucknow, which had been besieged for eighty-seven days. In the final attack on the enemy, General Neill, an able officer, was killed.

Just previous to this General Wilson laid siege to Delhi, and after a severe fight took it, capturing the king, who fled with the rebels after the action. On the 17th of November, Sir Colin Campbell, after a series of severe engagements, relieved Havelock, who had been shut up at Lucknow, and who, joining his forces with Sir Colin's, completely defeated the enemy. This enabled them to carry out safely the numerous non-combatants, ladies, families, civilians, etc., in the place, but Havelock died of dysentery the day before Sir Colin quitted Lucknow.

A number of minor engagements followed in which the Sepoys were steadily defeated, and many chiefs in the massacres punished, some being blown from the mouth of cannons. Sir H. Rose, on the 1st of April, 1858, while besieging Jhansi, was attacked by Tantia Topee, but without abandoning the investment he defeated the relieving army, capturing all the elephants, artillery, and camp-equipage, and closed his brilliant victory by taking the town. His capture of Gwalior in June was attended by nearly similar circumstances.

The mutiny was announced as finally suppressed in December, the insurgents having been hopelessly driven beyond the mountains into Nepaul.

Terrible as the Sepoy outbreak was, it strengthened English power, and convinced the native chiefs of the hopelessness of resistance. The English government now, however, put an end to the sovereign authority of the East India Company, and the anomalous rule it had exercised for so many years.

Sardinia had long been ambitious of controlling Italy, and again panted to begin the struggle by endeavoring to drive out Austria from Lombardy and Venice. Victor Emmanuel, who could now rely on French aid, collected so large an army on the Lombard frontier, in April, 1859, that Austria demanded a disarmament, and on the refusal of Sardinia pushed her army across the Ticino into Piedmont, on the 27th April. Almost at the same moment a revolution broke out in Tuscany, the Grand

Duke fled, and a provisional government was formed which soon gave place to Sardinian officers.

On his side, the Emperor Napoleon sent forward an army to Genoa, and joined it in person on the 13th of May. A short but decisive campaign followed. On the 20th of May, the Austrians, 15,000 strong, attacked the French van under Marshal Baraguay d'Hilliers at Montebello, but were repulsed after an obstinate fight of four hours. Another Austrian attack at Palestro, on the 31st, failed, and the French and Sardinians crossed the Ticino at Turbigo in spite of the resistance of the enemy, and the French under McMahon occupied Magenta, repulsing the Austrians at all points. The loss of the allies was 2,000, as they reported, that of the Austrians much greater.

The French Emperor and the King of Sardinia pushed on to Milan, and entered the capital of Lombardy on the 8th of June. The Austrian army was again defeated on the 11th, and retired within the Quadrilateral, a strong strategic position. On the 25th of June they, however, crossed the Mincio, and again gave the allies battle at Solferino. This was a most important action, the allies having 145,000, the Austrians 170,000, in the field. The former lost 16,800 in killed and wounded, the Austrians 21,000. Here too the latter were again defeated, although they repulsed the Piedmontese.

Finding it useless to prolong a struggle against such odds, the Austrian emperor, by the treaty of Villafranca, on the 11th of July ceded Lombardy, except Mantua and Peschiera, to France, who at once conveyed it to Sardinia. Venice was to remain subject to Austria as part of the proposed Italian Confederation, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena were to return to their states. A treaty at Zurich, in November, formally embodied these conditions.

The peace was, however, a hollow one, and Sardinia at once commenced her intrigues to annex the duchies and the Papal States. Sardinian rule was virtually maintained over the duchies, and the Legations were induced to revolt from the Pope; on which Napoleon III. wrote, urging the Pope to renounce them, so as to obtain a guaranty for the peaceful possession of the rest of his states. The motive was soon apparent: a vote taken in the Duchies and the Legations decided in favor of annexa

tion to Sardinia, and Victor Emmanuel then ceded to France the duchy of Savoy, the original possession of his family, and from which the arms of Sardinia were derived. The Pope and the Emperor of Austria both protested, but in vain, against the aggression of Sardinia.

But the ambition of Victor Emmanuel was not sated. On the 5th of May, 1860, Garibaldi, a native of Nice, a sailor, an adventurer in South America, whose native Nice had just become a French province, sailed from Genoa with 2,000 men to raise a rebellion in Sicily against Francis II. He landed at Marsala on the 10th, and at once assumed the title of Dictator of Sicily, in the name of Victor Emmanuel of Italy. He immediately attacked Palermo. He was joined by volunteers, and finally defeating the royal troops at Melazzo, soon reduced the various places garrisoned by the royal troops. On the 19th of August he left the island, and landed at Spartevento. After defeating the troops of Francis II. at Reggio and San Giovanni, he entered Naples on the 8th of September, the king having already retired to Gaeta.

Meanwhile the Pope, menaced in his remaining states, raised forces to defend them, under the command of Lamoricière, a French general of ability, Napoleon averring his intention of resisting any Sardinian aggression; but a Sardinian army under Cialdini suddenly invaded the territory with such overwhelming forces, that in spite of the most heroic defence, Pesaro, Fano, Urbino, Perugia, and Spoleto, the last garrisoned in part by Irish volunteers, were taken by assault. Victor Emmanuel then put himself at the head of his army, and crossing the frontier into the Abruzzi, effected a junction, between Teano and Speranzano, with Garibaldi, who hailed him as King of Italy.

Except the small district around Rome, and the camp of Francis II. at Gaeta, all Italy was thus reduced to the sway of Victor Emmanuel. Austria, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and even France, censured the action of Victor Emmanuel; but unheeding them all, that monarch entered Naples, and effected an election, giving him sovereign power over Naples and Sicily; which, with the Marches and Umbria, he formally annexed to his dominions, December 26th, 1860.

Francis II. continued the struggle for a time at Gaeta,

a French fleet giving him some moral support, and his General Lovera defeating the Sardinians at Tagliacozzo; but on the 13th of February, 1861, Gaeta surrendered to Cialdini, who in March reduced Messina, and the last shadow of opposition to Victor Emmanuel disappeared.

This wonderful success, mainly the fruit of the plans and schemes of Count Cavour, was but just attained when that statesman died at Turin, on the 6th of June, 1861.

For a time the additions thus made to his kingdom satisfied the ambition of the king, but the turbulent still clamored for Venice and Rome, and in 1861 Garibaldi began operations against the Pope, which Victor Emmanuel checked at Aspromonte. But Napoleon could not be indifferent to the Holy See. Victor Emmanuel, by a convention concluded on the 15th of September, 1864, engaged not to attack the territory of the Holy Father, and even to prevent any attack being made, as well as to offer no opposition to the organization of a Papal army of foreign Catholics to maintain order and defend his state. In view of this the French were to withdraw at the end of two years. Florence now became the capital of the new kingdom of Italy.

The affairs of the universal church had engaged the attention of Pope Pius IX. amid all the troubles that disturbed Italy, and threatened his own security. Devoted especially to the honor of the Blessed Virgin, he wished to signalize his pontificate by a solemn definition of her Immaculate Conception. The doctrine was treated with the utmost fulness by Passaglia and other theologians; the bishops throughout the world were invited to transmit the belief that had obtained from time immemorial in their dioceses, and with this concurrent expression the Pope, on the 8th of December, 1854, in the presence of fifty-four cardinals, and one hundred and forty-eight archbishops and bishops, by a formal bull declared, pronounced, and defined, that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary, at the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace of Almighty God, by virtue of the merits of Jesus Christ the Saviour of mankind, was preserved immaculate from all stain of original sin, has been revealed by God, and therefore should be firmly and constantly believed by all the

faithful. This solemn act was received by the whole church with feelings of joy and devotion.

On the 18th of August, 1855, a concordat was concluded with Austria, by which the Church in that empire was virtually delivered from the enslaving institutions of Joseph II. It restored free communication between the bishops and clergy in Austria and the Pope; enabled the bishops to regulate the affairs of their dioceses, superintend the education of the young, and of ecclesiastical students.

For a number of years the Pope remained tranquilly at Rome, and in 1867 celebrated with great pomp and solemnity the eighteenth centennial anniversary of St. Peter. The next year Garibaldi made another attempt on Rome, covertly favored by the unprincipled king of Italy. The Papal troops were checked at Monte Rotondo on the 26th of October, but the French intervened, and entered Rome on the 30th: the Papal troops, supported by them, totally defeated the invaders at Mentana, on the 4th of November.

Soon after, the Pope convoked a General Council of the Church, to meet at the Vatican at Rome on the 8th of December, 1869, to consider the wants of the Church and its position under the various political revolutions which since the Council of Trent had so altered the relations of the Church to the State.

Greece, dissatisfied with King Otho, expelled him in 1862, and, after establishing a provisional government, chose Prince George of Denmark as their sovereign. In 1866 the Cretans, encouraged by Greece and Russia, revolted, and for more than a year maintained a desperate struggle for freedom. But as no foreign state aided them, they were at last reduced.

France and England acted in concert also in regard to Chinese matters. The unjust attempt of England to force the opium trade upon China, against the dictates of morality and sound policy, led to constant troubles, and the arrogance of the Chinese officials often gave plausible pretexts for attack or extortion. The seizure by the Chinese authorities, on the 8th of October, 1856, at Canton, was made out to be a grievance demanding reparation. The vessel was Chinese built, Chinese owned, and though registered for a time at the British consulate, her registry had expired, and she had no

right, as was admitted, to carry the British flag, which she used merely as a cover for piracy and smuggling. Yet on the plea that the imperial commissioner Yeh paid too little attention to the remonstrance of the British consul, Admiral Seymour on the 23d attacked the forts on the river. As this did not intimidate Yeh, preparations were made to capture Canton. A large force in boats defeated the Chinese war-junks at Fatshan Creek. English attention was then for a time engrossed by India, but Canton was attacked on the 29th of December, 1857, by the British and French forces, and captured with little loss. Soon after Yeh fell into their hands, and was sent to Calcutta, where he died.

The allied fleet then proceeded to Tientsin, on the Peiho, where a treaty of peace was signed (June 26th, 1858). The Chinese renewed the treaty of Nankin, made in 1842, agreed to receive ambassadors, to permit travellers to enter the country, and to allow merchant ships to ascend the Yangtsekiang to trade, to open five additional ports, and to pay four millions of taels for the expenses of the war.

The next year, however, as difficulties were thrown in the way of Mr. Bruce, who wished to proceed to Peking as English ambassador, Admiral Hope, in order to aid him, attacked the forts erected by the Chinese at the mouth of the Peiho, but after losing 370 men killed and wounded, and three of his gunboats, was compelled to draw off. Mr. Bruce then addressed the Chinese government from Shanghai, demanding an apology for their firing on the gunboats, and a ratification of the treaty of Tientsin.

In August a French and English force advanced into the country, defeated the Chinese army at Tangku with little loss, capturing forty-five guns. The Taku forts were then taken, and the allies advanced on Peking. Meanwhile the Chinese seized a number of English and French subjects, and put several to death with great barbarity. When the allies entered Peking (Oct. 12th) the Emperor fled, and, as the massacre of the prisoners was not known, liberal terms were offered; but as soon as that was discovered, the Summer Palace of Yuen Ming Yuen, where some of the cruelties were perpetrated, was plundered of its rich and valuable articles, and then totally destroyed. Very stringent conditions were then imposed, to which the Chinese submitted.

The Emperor Hienfung died in August, 1861, and was succeeded by his son Tsaisun, to whom Canton was restored in August.

In her home affairs England during this period made some steps in progress. A disposition was evinced to allow inmates of prisons and public institutions to receive the ministrations of ministers of their own religion, it being at last seen that to alienate men from a religion, which had a moral power over them, could not tend to make them better citizens. The affair of the Sheffield Trades Unions, in 1867, showed too that the English working-classes were completely demoralized and familiarized with crime, and that a greater religious influence was needed to save the country from scenes like those of the French revolution.

The people, too, were clamoring for Reform, and for a parliamentary system in which the population should be really represented, and really choose the members. Several bills were introduced into parliament, but none met with general approval, till that prepared by Mr. Disraeli, which received the royal sanction August 15th, 1867.

During this period the Church of England became more and more the slave, as it was the creature of the State. In the Gorham case, the Privy Council compelled the Bishop of Exeter to induct a clergyman held by the bishops to be heretical; and as the members of the Privy Council would naturally be of the most lax religious ideas, and future appointments to episcopal sees be of clergymen likely to share the most latitudinarian views, all hope was taken from that party in the Church which hoped to make it once more Catholic. A similar case arose in regard to Bishop Colenso of Natal, who had been deprived of his see for heretical doctrines in regard to the Scriptures. He was restored to his see in 1868, in spite of the episcopal body. On the death of the Bishop of Exeter, in 1869, a clergyman was appointed to the see whose writings had been of a most rationalistic order.

The episcopacy, by a Pan Anglican synod, in 1867, comprising bishops from England and her colonies, and from the United States, endeavored to form an organization and evoke a new life, but with the real power in the hands of the State to make articles of faith, forms

of prayer and worship, regulate rites and ceremonies, they could really effect nothing. The act passed in 1869, disestablishing the Church in Ireland, seemed to foreshadow a like treatment of the Church in England.

When the Southern States attempted to secede from the United States, in 1861, England very hastily recognized them as belligerents, and, notwithstanding the closing and blockade of the Southern ports by the American government, continued steadily to throw in arms and supplies to the insurgents. Vessels of war were also fitted out in English ports, which sailed forth and destroyed great numbers of American ships; and when the *Alabama* was sunk off Cherbourg by the American steamer *Kearsarge*, an English yacht carried off Semmes, the commander of the *Alabama*. The depredations of these vessels formed the basis of what are known as the *Alabama* claims, for the settlement of which a convention was signed Nov. 10th, 1868, but rejected by the United States Senate.

During this period England experienced trouble in Jamaica. An outbreak occurred there in October, 1865, which was put down so summarily and cruelly by Governor Eyre, that he was put on trial in England, but acquitted. In New Zealand also constant hostilities were kept up by the Maories, involving enormous expense to the government without inflicting any severe punishment on those savage but brave and crafty tribes.

England, while ever fostering insurrection in other lands, soon had to experience a similar state of affairs. Ireland continued in an agitated condition. A new and widespread revolutionary organization, known as the Fenians, was formed in Ireland, with affiliations in England and in the United States, where many soldiers and officers, who had gained experience in the civil war, eagerly joined it. The English government proceeded in the old way to put it down by arrests and by sham-trials, where paid informers gave their testimony to hired judges and packed juries. Such a course could only intensify the feeling of hatred, and give strength to the secret society from which the clergy, encouraged by the Pope, sought to divert the faithful. James Stephens, the head of the Fenians, was captured Nov. 11th, 1865, but escaped at once from Richmond Prison, Dublin. The English government suspended the Habeas Corpus

Act, and sent to Ireland Sir Hugh Rose, an officer trained in the Sepoy war. The whole movement of the Fenians was, however, ill concerted: no outbreak of any moment took place in Ireland; a few attacks being made on the police stations in February and March, 1867, an attempt was made to seize the castle at Chester, in England, and some Fenian prisoners were rescued at Manchester. This led to some executions in November, 1867, and a reckless effort to liberate the prisoners in Clerkenwell jail, by exploding a barrel of powder at the gate, caused the death of many in the neighborhood without effecting the object intended. One Barrett, convicted of this crime, was subsequently hung. In America the Fenians raised a force which invaded Canada, and at first gained some advantage, but was finally defeated and driven back into the United States. Several were taken, tried, and condemned to death; among the rest, the Rev. Mr. McMahon, a priest, who attended the dying of both parties on the battle-field. To hold a person acting as chaplain to be a party to the guilt of his penitents is unexampled in all the annals of history, but the Judge charged that giving absolution to men in rebellion was encouraging them to violate the laws of the land. After a long imprisonment he was at last released. The movement, marked in 1868 by an attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburg, a son of Victoria, in Australia, may be said to have closed with the assassination in Ottawa, Canada, of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a member of the ministry, long known as an Irish patriot, orator, historian, and poet, but a strong opponent of Fenianism.

The barbarous conduct of Theodore, segos or king of Abyssinia, to a number of English and other European missionaries, travellers, and agents in his country, whom he arrested and put in prison, led to a brief but brilliant war. An army under Sir Robert Napier landed at Lulla, October 21st, 1867, and advanced into the interior, having formed an alliance with Kassai, prince of Tigre. Meanwhile Theodore had collected his forces, and taken up a strong position at Magdala; but when his army covering that place was defeated on the heights of Islamgie, he gave up the prisoners, and sought to propitiate his enemy. Sir Robert insisted on an absolute submission, and when this was evaded, attacked and cap-

turel Magdala, April 13th, 1868: Theodore himself being killed at the second barricade endeavoring to atone by a gallant death for a life of cruelty and oppression. The English forces soon withdrew from the country, carrying with them Theodore's son and heir, who was sent to England to be educated.

England in 1865 lost two of her illustrious men, Lord Palmerston, so long Prime Minister, a man of undoubted ability and wonderful tact, a fomenter of discord in other lands, but a firm represser of all movements for freedom at home; and Cardinal Wiseman, whose learning and ability made English statesmen regret their short-sighted folly in treating as an insult to the country the Pope's wish that England should exercise an influence in the College of Cardinals, the ruling body of the whole church. In the same year died Leopold, king of Belgium, uncle of queen Victoria, and son-in-law of George IV.

On the 21st of May, 1867, the British Provinces in North America were erected into the Dominion of Canada, by royal proclamation, as a step to a separate government under British protection.

The attempt to lay a telegraphic cable across the Atlantic, connecting England and these colonies, failed in 1865, but was successfully carried out July 27th, 1867, making the transmission of intelligence almost instantaneous.

By the abolition of the old German empire, Austria had lost the imperial power, and exerted only an indirect influence by the weight which her size and population gave her in the Confederate Diet, where she was still recognized as the leading power in Germany. Prussia had constantly aspired to attain this pre-eminence, and with this view constantly fostered the feeling of German nationality. The condition of Germany was strange. Austria had Italian, Hungarian, and Slavonic provinces, besides those in which German was spoken, while Sleswick and Holstein, German states, belonged to Denmark, and Luxemburg to Holland. Sleswick and Holstein revolted, but failed to effect a separation from Denmark, although the German diet constantly fomented trouble there. On the death of Frederick VII. of Denmark the throne devolved on Christian IX., but his claim to Sleswick and Holstein was opposed by Frederick, Duke of Augustenburg, although his father, from whom

he pretended to claim, had actually for a large sum renounced all rights to them. Christian, following out the plans of his predecessor, resolved to make the provinces as Danish as possible, and to resist any attempt to wrest them from him. This was the opportunity sought by Prussia, and having induced Austria to join her, these two powers, on the 16th of January, 1864, required Christian within forty-eight hours to suppress a constitution promulgated by him. On his peremptory refusal an allied army under Marshal Wrangel entered Holstein on the 21st, and on the 3d of February bombarded and burned Missunde. The main reliance of the Danes was the Dannewerke, a strong line of fortifications on the north side of the Eider. This was now abandoned, and the main force attempted to hold Duppel. After a month's siege this fortress fell, and by the final defeat at Alsen, Denmark was completely humbled, her only victory being the defeat of an Austrian fleet by the Danish ships. By the treaty of Vienna, signed on the 30th of October, Denmark ceded to Austria and Prussia the duchies of Sleswick, Holstein, and Lauenburg. Disregarding the claims of the duke of Augustenburg, in whose interest they had ostensibly acted, the two powers divided the duchies between them.

The diet protested against the action of Prussia, which virtually controlled them all, and Austria soon found that she had been merely made the dupe of Prussia, and that that power, under the guidance of the great statesman Bismarck, was not only aiming to detach the minor German powers from her, but also negotiating with the kingdom of Italy to attack her. Prussia had in fact long premeditated the movement she was now to make. Her army was in a fine condition in point of organization and discipline, and was armed with the needle-gun, the most effective musket yet introduced. Austria, distracted by the Hungarian revolts, and demoralized by the Italian defeats, was not in a position to cope with her rival.

Prussia acted with the rapidity of lightning. Treating the censure of the diet at Frankfort as a declaration of war by the minor powers, Prussian armies, on the 15th of June, 1866, simultaneously invaded Saxony, Hanover, and the smaller states north of the Maine. Another army entered Bohemia, and, on the 26th, met the Austri-

ans at Reichenberg, driving them back on Munchengrätz. Still another army, commanded by the Crown Prince, attacked the Austrians at Nachod, and though for a time held in check, finally, by fresh troops, succeeded in defeating them with the loss of 4,000 men.

On the 29th the Austrian Archduke Leopold engaged the Prussians before Skalitz, but was compelled to retire, and the Count Clam Gallas was driven back by the Prussian Prince Frederick Charles. As this exposed his flanks, General Benedek, the Austrian commander, attempted to fall back on Königgrätz, but the Prussians had not only gained his rear, but were actually hurling another army down upon him. He instantly wheeled his left and centre, and retiring his right, took up a new position.

On the 3d of July, Prince Frederick Charles opened the terrible battle of Sadowa by a fierce attack on Benedek's line. The Austrians fought desperately, and were pressing the Prussians back, when the Crown Prince of Prussia came on the field with the first army, and took the Austrian right and reserves in flank; and though the Austrians stubbornly held their ground, and used their artillery as effectually as the position admitted, they could not free their centre, and their right was driven back on Königgrätz, covering their retreat with their cavalry and artillery.

This defeat decided the war. Austria, obliged to keep a large army in Italy, had been unable to meet Prussia with equal forces; but in reality she overrated the Italians. Victor Emmanuel had indeed crossed the Mincio, on the 23d of June, with nearly 90,000 men, but was utterly routed at Custozza by the Archduke Albert, not having been able to contest the field more than two hours. Nor were the Italians more successful on the water. Admiral Persano with a well-appointed fleet was utterly defeated by the Austrian Admiral Tegethoff. Persano was subsequently tried and convicted of cowardice. Even Garibaldi was defeated by the Austrians at Monte Sello.

In less than a fortnight after the commencement of hostilities the emperor of Austria was compelled to sue for peace. By the treaty of Prague, on the 23d of August, Austria acceded to the union of Venice with the kingdom of Italy, recognized the dissolution of the

Germanic Confederation, and consented to a new organization of Germany without the participation of the Austrian empire. Austria would not, however, directly cede Venetia to an enemy whom she had defeated by land and sea; she conveyed it to the Emperor Napoleon, by whom it was transferred to Italy, and Victor Emmanuel thus acquired through the jealousy entertained of Austria by Prussia, what his own power could not have accomplished.

Prussia did not strip Austria of any of her territory, but annexed Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau, and Frankfort; which, with the Duchies taken from Denmark, gave her all Northern Germany. She was now the great Protestant power, and evidently aimed at this, avoiding any territorial addition that would bring in a large Catholic population.

Russia during this period was not the scene of many interesting events or changes. A Polish insurrection broke out in 1863, against a general Russian conscription, designed to sweep off the best of the Polish youth into Russian armies; but against the overwhelming power of Russia, there was no hope. The insurrection was crushed, and the bitter chains more firmly riveted than ever. Europe looked on, but gave the Poles no aid beyond idle sympathy. As the West was closed to her by the Crimean war, Russia pushed forward in Asia, capturing Samarcand in March, 1869, and soon after overrunning much of Independent Tartary, Bokhara being virtually a tributary to the Czar. The Russian territory in America, as being too remote, was sold to the United States, and became the territory of Alaska.

Spain had never secured a state of permanent internal peace, being torn by constant revolutionary changes. Still a certain progress was attained, and religion was once more beginning to regain its influence throughout the peninsula. This arrayed against the Queen all the infidel and irreligious party. In 1859 difficulties with Morocco resulted in war, and an army under O'Donnell invaded that empire. Tetuan was taken, on the 4th of February, 1860, and the emperor completely humbled. By a treaty, signed on the 27th of April, he agreed to pay twenty millions of dollars, Tetuan to remain in the hands of Spain till all the conditions were fulfilled.

In December, 1861, Spain united with England and France in operations against Mexico; but shortly after occupying Vera Cruz, General Prim, the Spanish commander, withdrew. England soon followed the example, and the French alone continued the operations, now avowedly to overthrow the government of Juarez, and establish an empire, as a barrier to the progress of the United States. The French army under Lorencey was, however, repulsed at Puebla with severe loss by General Zaragoza, but re-enforcements being sent out, General Forey at the head of thirty thousand men occupied Puebla and Mexico. Juarez retreated to Potosi, while an assembly of notables declared for an empire, and offered the throne to the Austrian Archduke Maximilian. For a time the French maintained this frail empire, and Maximilian endeavored honestly to establish a well-conducted government. In March, 1867, however, the French army left Mexico,—the United States, now recovered from the civil war, protesting against its presence. This left the high-minded Maximilian to his fate. While conducting a campaign against Juarez, he was betrayed by one of his own generals, taken prisoner, and on the 19th of June, 1867, barbarously shot by order of Juarez, against the remonstrances of England and the United States. For a time even his body was detained, but was finally given up to his countrymen, and conveyed to Austria. His empress, Charlotte, daughter of Leopold, king of Belgium, who had gone to Europe to seek aid for her husband, lost her reason, from over-excitement, or from the effects of poison, administered to her while in Mexico.

Spain had other troubles in America. Difficulties having arisen with Peru, she seized the Chincha islands in April, 1864, and by holding those islands, valuable for their deposits of guano, obtained a treaty of peace, signed at Callao in February, 1865. This was not, however, permanent, and as Chili had manifested a sympathy with Peru, the Spanish fleet bombarded Valparaiso.

Meanwhile Marshal Narvaez, whose stern rigor had repressed all turbulence in Spain, died, and Queen Isabel saw the precarious position in which she stood. In 1868 she crossed the frontier into France, to confer with the Emperor Napoleon at Biarritz. During her absence from the capital a revolution broke out, headed by

Marshal Serrano, General Prim, and Admiral Topete. Almost all the military and naval forces, controlled by secret societies, joined the revolt, and the people were overawed. General Novaliches with a part of the army attempted to save Spain, but was defeated by Serrano, September 29th, 1868, and all was lost. The next month the Provisional government was recognized by several European courts. Serrano was made regent, and a kingdom having been resolved upon, the Cortes became embarrassed as to the choice of a king.

The first and only real work of this new regime was to oppress the Church, and harass it in all possible ways. They even sent to the Bishops forms for their pastoral addresses to their flocks, and forbade them to attend the General Council without the sanction of this self-created government.

But while thus valiant toward venerable prelates, they showed no disposition to allow others to adopt new ideas of government. Cuba, long oppressed and plundered, claimed freedom, but the republicans of Spain resisted fiercely. The war lasted for a long time, and desolated most of Cuba.

Accession. A. D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	NAPLES.	ROME.
1493	..	..	Maximilian	..	..
1495	..	..	..	Ferdinand II.	..
1496	..	..	..	Frederic II.	..
1498	..	Lewis XII.	..	..	..
1501	..	..	..	Ferdinand the Catholic	..
1503	..	..	..	..	Pius III. DIED 1503
1509	Henry VIII.	..	..	..	..
1513	..	..	..	..	Julius II. 1513
1515	..	Francis I.	..	Charles V. of Austria.	..
1516	..	..	..	..	..
1519	..	..	Charles V.	..	..
1521	..	..	..	..	Leo X. 1521
1523	..	..	..	..	Adrian VI. 1523
1533	..	..	..	..	Clement VII. 1534
1547	Edward VI.	Henry II.	..	..	Paul III. 1549
1553	Mary	..	..	..	..
1556	..	..	Ferdinand	Philip II.	Julius III. 1555
1557	..	..	..	..	Marcellus II. 1555
1558	Elizabeth	..	..	..	..
1559	..	Francis II.	..	..	Paul IV. 1559
1560	..	Charles IX.	..	..	..
1564	..	..	Maximil. II.	..	Pius IV. 1565
1574	..	Henry III.	..	..	St. Pius V. 1572
1576	..	..	Rodolph II.	..	..
1578	..	..	..	..	..
1580	..	..	..	..	Gregory XIII. 1585
1589	..	Henry IV.	..	..	Sixtus V. 1590
1590	..	..	..	..	Urban VII. 1590
1591	..	..	..	..	Gregory XIV. 1591
1598	..	..	..	Philip III.	Innocent IX. 1591
1603	James I.	..	..	..	Clement VIII. 1605
1605	..	..	..	..	Leo XI. 1605
1610	..	Lewis XIII.	..	..	..
1611	..	..	..	..	..
1612	..	..	Mathias	..	..
1613	..	..	..	..	..
1619	..	..	Ferdi. II.	..	..
1621	..	..	..	Philip IV.	Paul V. 1621
1625	Charles I.	..	..	..	Gregory XV. 1623
1630	[beheaded]	..	..	..	..
1632	..	..	..	..	..
1637	..	..	Ferdi. III.	..	..
1640	..	..	..	..	..
1643	..	Lewis XIV.	..	..	..
1645	..	..	..	..	Urban VIII. 1644
1648	Interreg- num	..	..	..	..
1654	..	..	..	..	..
1656	..	..	..	..	Innocent X. 1655
1657	..	..	Leopold I.	..	..
1660	Charles II.	..	..	..	..
1665	..	..	..	Charles II.	..
1668	..	..	..	..	Alexander VII. 1667
1670	..	..	..	..	Clement IX. 1669
1675	..	..	..	..	..
1676	..	..	..	..	Clement X. 1676
1682	..	..	..	..	..
1685	James II. deposed	..	..	..	..
1689	Wm. & Mary	..	..	..	Innocent XI. 1689
1696	..	..	..	..	Alexander VIII. 1691
1697	..	..	..	..	..

Accession. A. D.	PORTUGAL.	SPAIN.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	TURKEY.
1495	Emmanuel	Ferdi. the C. 1472, and Isab. 1479.	John, 1481.	..	.. DIED
1496	..	..	..	..	..
1497	..	..	..	..	..
1498	..	..	..	..	..
1501	..	..	..	..	..
1504	..	..	..	..	..
1509	..	..	..	..	Bajazet II.
1512	..	..	..	..	Selim I.
1513	..	..	Christ. II.	..	..
1516	..	Emperor Charles V.	..	..	..
1519	..	..	..	..	Soliman II. 1520
1521	John III.	..	..	..	..
1525	..	..	Frederic I.	Gust. Vasa	..
1533	..	..	Christ. III.	..	..
1548	..	..	..	..	..
1553	..	Philip II.	..	..	..
1556	..	..	..	..	..
1557	Sebastian	..	..	..	..
1558	..	..	..	..	..
1559	..	..	..	..	..
1560	..	..	..	..	..
1564	..	..	..	..	..
1573	..	..	..	..	Amurath III. 1574
1576	..	..	..	John III.	..
1578	Henry Card.	..	..	..	..
1580	Philip II. of Spain.	..	..	..	..
1588	..	..	Christian IV.	Sigismund	..
1591	..	..	..	..	..
1592	..	..	..	..	..
1596	..	..	..	..	Mahomet III. 1595
1598	Philip III.	Philip III.	..	..	Selim II. 1596
1604	..	..	..	Charles IX.	Achmet I.
1610	..	..	..	..	..
1611	..	..	..	Gust. Adolph.	..
1612	..	..	..	..	..
1613	..	..	..	..	Mustapha dep. 1611
1619	..	..	..	..	Osman I.
1621	Philip IV.	Philip IV.	..	..	Mustapha restored
1625	..	..	..	..	Amurath IV. 1622
1630	..	..	..	..	..
1632	..	..	..	Christina	..
1637	..	..	..	..	..
1640	John IV. Braganza	..	..	..	Ibrahim
1643	..	..	..	..	..
1645	..	..	..	..	..
1648	..	..	Frederic III.	..	Mahomet IV. 1649
1654	..	..	..	Charles X.	deposed 1687
1656	Alphonso VI	..	..	..	..
1657	..	..	..	..	..
1660	..	..	..	Charles XI.	..
1665	..	Charles II.	..	..	..
1668	Peter II.	..	..	..	..
1670	..	..	Christian V.	..	..
1675	..	..	..	..	..
1676	..	..	..	..	..
1682	..	..	..	..	..
1685	..	..	..	..	Soliman III. 1687
1689	..	..	..	..	..
1696	..	..	..	..	Achmet II. 1691
1697	..	..	..	Charles XII.	..

Accession. A. D.	ENGLAND.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	NAPLES.	ROME.
1699	..	..	..	..	.. DIED
1700	..	..	..	Philip V. of Bourbon	Innocent XII. 1700
1702	Anne	..	..	..	..
1705	..	..	Joseph I.	..	..
1706	..	..	..	..	..
1711	..	..	Charles VI.	..	..
1713	..	..	..	..	..
1714	George I.	..	..	..	..
1715	..	Lewis XV.	..	..	..
1718	..	..	..	..	..
1720	..	..	..	..	Clement XI. 1721
1725	..	..	..	..	Innocent XIII. 1724
1727	George II.	..	..	..	..
1730	..	..	..	..	Benedict XIII. 1730
1740	..	..	Charles VII.	..	Clement XII. 1740
1741	..	..	..	..	..
1745	..	..	Francis I.	..	..
1746	..	..	..	Charles III.	..
1750	..	..	..	..	..
751	..	..	..	..	..
1759	..	..	..	..	Benedict XIV. 1758
1760	George III.	..	..	..	..
1762	..	..	..	..	..
1765	..	..	Joseph II.	..	..
1766	..	..	..	..	..
1771	..	..	..	..	Clement XIII. 1769
1773	..	..	..	..	..
1774	..	Lewis XVI.	..	..	Clement XIV. 1774
1777	..	[guillotined.]	..	Ferdinand I. of the two Sicilies.	..
1788	..	..	..	..	..
1790	..	..	Leopold II.	..	..
1792	..	..	Francis II.	..	..
1793	..	France, Re- public.	..	..	..
1796	..	..	..	..	Pius VI. 1799
1801	..	..	..	..	..
1802	..	..	..	..	..
1804	..	Napoleon Emperor	..	..	..
1807	..	..	..	..	..
1808	..	..	..	..	..
1809	..	..	..	..	..
1810	..	..	..	..	..
1814	..	Lewis XVIII	..	..	..
1816	..	..	..	..	..
1818	..	..	..	..	..
1820	George IV.	..	..	..	..
1823	..	..	..	..	Pius VII. 1823
1824	..	Charles X. dethroned.	..	..	..
1825	..	..	..	..	..
1826	..	..	..	Francis I.	..
1830	..	Lewis Philip	..	Ferdi. II.	Leo XII. 1829
1831	William IV.	..	..	..	Pius VIII. 1830
1833	..	..	..	..	Gregory XVI. 1846
1835	..	..	Ferdinand I. of Austria.	..	..
1837	Victoria	..	..	..	..
1839	..	..	..	..	..
1846	..	..	..	..	Pius IX.
1848	..	L. Napoleon.	Fr. Joseph.	..	..
1860	..	..	..	Annexed to Sardinia.	..

Accession. A. D.	PORTUGAL.	SPAIN.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.	TURKEY.
1699	..	..	Frederic IV.	..	Mustapha II.
1700	..	Philip V.	..	..	..
1702	..	..	..	..	Achmet III. DIED
1705	..	..	..	..	1703
1706	John V.	..	..	..	..
1711	..	..	..	..	..
1713	..	..	..	..	..
1714	..	..	..	..	..
1715	..	..	..	..	..
1718	..	..	..	Ulrica	..
1720	..	..	..	Frederic	..
1725	..	..	..	..	..
1727	..	..	..	..	..
1730	..	..	Christian VI.	..	Mahomet V.
1740	..	..	..	..	..
1741	..	..	..	..	..
1745	..	..	..	..	..
1746	..	Ferdi. VI.	Frederic V.	..	..
1750	Joseph	..	..	..	..
1751	..	..	..	Adolphus Frederic	Osman II. 1757
1759	..	Charles III.	..	..	Mustapha III.
1760	..	..	..	..	..
1762	..	..	..	..	..
1765	..	..	..	..	..
1766	..	..	Christi. VII.	..	..
1771	..	..	..	Gustavus III.	..
1773	..	..	..	[assassin.	..
1774	..	..	..	..	Achmet IV.
1777	Mary Fran- ces.	..	..	..	..
1788	..	Charles IV.	..	..	Selim III. 1789
1790	..	[abd.	..	..	..
1792	..	..	..	Gustavus IV.	..
1793	..	..	..	[dep.	..
1796	..	..	..	..	..
1801	..	..	..	..	..
1802	..	..	..	..	..
1804	..	..	..	..	..
1807	..	..	Frederic VI.	..	..
1808	..	Ferdi. VII.	..	Charles XIII	Mahmoud II.
1809	..	..	..	..	..
1810	..	..	..	..	..
1814	..	..	..	..	..
1816	John VI.	..	..	..	..
1818	..	..	..	Charles John XIV.	..
1826	Maria da Gloria	..	..	..	..
1830	..	..	..	..	..
1831	..	..	..	..	..
1833	..	Isabella II.	..	..	..
1835	..	..	..	..	..
1837	..	..	..	..	..
1839	..	..	Christ. VIII.	..	Abdul-Sedjim
1844	..	..	..	Oscar I.	..
1848	..	..	Frederic VII.	..	..
1863	..	..	Charles IX.	..	..
1868	..	Revolution.	..	..	..

Accession. A. D.	RUSSIA.	POLAND.	PRUSSIA.	SAARDINIA.	HOLLAND.
1613	Michael Fædorowitsch	..	.	..	..
1632	..	Ladislaus V.	..	..	.
1645	Alexis Mich.	..	..	..	..
1648	..	John Casimir.	..	..	.
1689	.	Michael Coribut.	..	..	..
1673	.	John Sobieski.	..	..	..
1676	Fædor	..	..	..	..
1682	Iwan	..	..	..	..
1685	Peter the Great.	..	..	..	..
1696	..	Frederic Augustus II. Elector of Saxony	..	..	..
1709	..	..	Frederic I.	..	..
1705	..	Stanislaus Leczinski	..	..	..
1709	..	Augustus restored	..	..	..
1713	..	..	Frederic William I.	Victor Amadeus II. First King	.
1725	Catherine I.	..	..	..	..
1727	Peter II.	..	..	..	..
1730	Anne	..	..	..	.
1732	..	..	..	Chas. Emanuel III.	..
1740	Iwan III. murdered	..	Frederic II. the Great.	..	..
1741	Elizabeth	..	..	..	..
1762	Peter III. murdered	..	..	..	..
1764	Catherine II.	Stanislaus Poniatowski dep. 1798.	..	..	..
1772	..	1st Partition	..	..	..
1773	..	..	..	Victor Amad. III.	..
1786	..	..	Frederic William II.	..	..
1793	..	2d Partition	..	..	..
1795	..	3d Partition	..	..	..
1796	Paul murd.	..	..	Charles Emanuel IV. abdicated	..
1797	..	..	Frederic William III.	..	..
1801	Alexander	..	..	Victor Eman. V. abdicated	..
1802	..	..	..	..	..
1806	..	..	..	..	Lewis Napoleon
1815	..	Alexander	..	..	William I.
1821	..	..	.	Charles Felix.	..
1825	Nicholas	Nicholas	.	..	NETHERLANDS. Will. I.
1831	..	..	..	Charles Albert	BELGIUM Leopold
1840	..	..	Frederic William IV.	..	..
1849	..	..	..	Victor Eman. King of Italy in 1860.	William III.
1856	Alexander II	Alexander II	..	..	..
1865	..	..	..	..	Leop. II.

Accession. A. D.	SAXONY.	BAVARIA.	WIRTEM- BERG.	HANOVER.	TUSCANY.
1679	..	..	..	Ernest, First Elector.	..
1696	Frederic Au- gustus, Elector of Saxony	..	..	..	..
1698	..	..	..	George	..
1727	..	..	..	George	..
1733	Augustus II.	..	..	..	..
1760	..	..	..	George I.	..
1763	{ Frederic Christian Frederic Augus- tus III. King in 1806.	..	..	..	..
	..	Charles Charles.	..	..	Ferdinand, Duke.
	..	Max. Joseph King (1805).	..	..	..
1797	..	..	Frederic William I. King in 1806.	..	..
1815	..	..	..	Erected into a Kingdom.	..
1816	..	..	Frederic William II.	..	..
1820	..	..	..	George II.	..
1824	..	..	..	..	Leopold II.
1825	..	Lewis Charles	..	..	..
1827	Anthony	..	..	..	..
1830	..	..	..	William I.	..
1836	Frederic Au- gustus II.	..	..	..	..
1837	..	..	..	Ernest	..
1848	..	Maximil. II.	..	..	..
1851	..	..	..	George III.	..
1859	..	..	..	..	Annexed to Sar- dinia.
1868	..	..	..	Annexed to Prussia.	..

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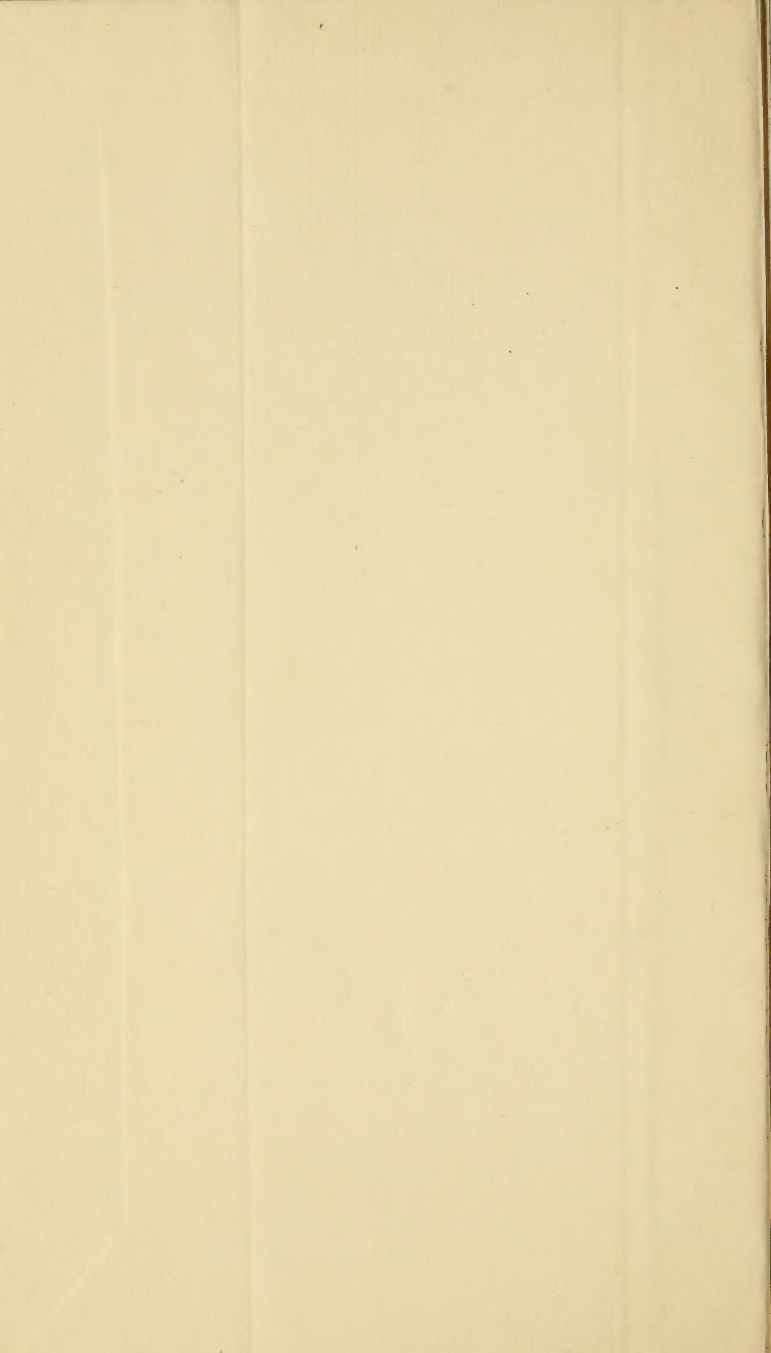
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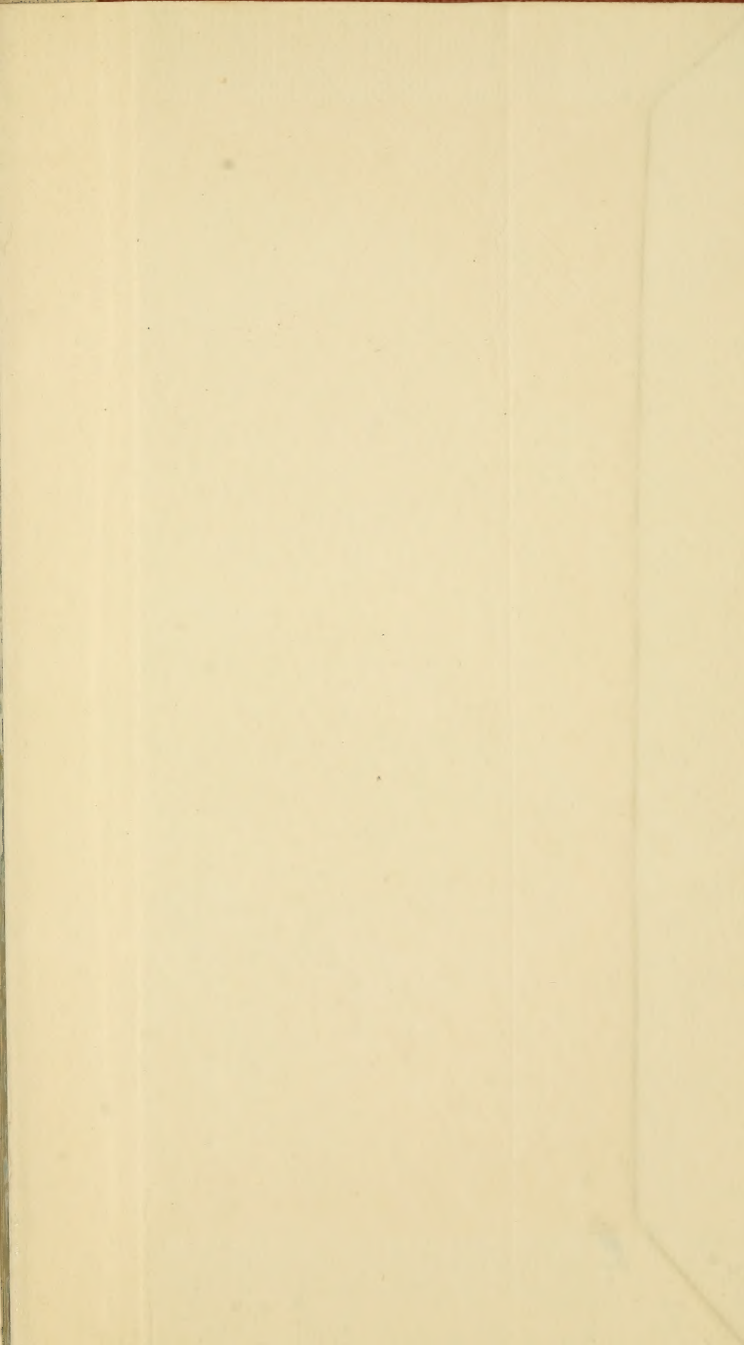
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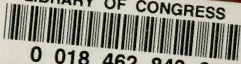
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